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THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

A MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

by VERNON BARTLETT

TO the mythical man in the moon the political map of our world would look like nothing so much as the sort of pattern of overlapping circles drawn by any child with a compass and a piece of paper. *"Einkreisung"* or "encirclement" is fast replacing *"Lebensraum"* or "living room" as the most popular word in the vocabulary of official German propagandists. The desire to convince the German people that we do not want to encircle them is the incentive behind every conciliatory reference to Germany in a British speech. The Germans are worried by the British-French-Turkish-Rumanian-Polish circle; the French are worried by the German-Italian-Spanish circle. The Russians are worried by the Japanese-Italian-German circle; the Baltic States are surrounded by potential enemies who desire to thrust their friendship and protection upon them; the whole darned world is encircled by fear.

The most important job in the world to-day is to convince the German people that the most dangerous and unpleasant circle of all is the one which their own government is building round them with its autarchic foundation to keep inside every pfennig that can be made available for armaments and its high walls of suspicion to encourage them to use those arms when Hitler decides the moment has come. The

Führer lost dangerously in prestige inside as well as outside Germany when, contrary to all his pledges, he annexed Bohemia and Moravia. He must have learnt that moral issues should at any rate be used to cover political acts—a discovery which the British Imperialists of the last century found invaluable—that it was not enough merely to devote a large and boring section of his speeches to excuse and explain the annexation. Therefore one may expect his every political adventure during the next few months to be accompanied by great efforts to show that Germany is not responsible for it.

Thus pinpricks in Danzig may finally goad the Poles into some action which will enable Dr. Goebbels to convince many people in his own country and some people outside it that Poland is a bloodthirsty and brutal aggressor. The Hungarians, who are now very tightly bound to the axis, and the Bulgarians, who are left unjustifiably friendless and forlorn, may be induced to attack Rumania in order to free their minorities (and, incidentally, to give Germany her much-needed oil). The Italians may be encouraged to attack either Egypt or Tunisia, and in that case the Russians could justifiably argue that they had no obligation towards the Western European Powers since the British themselves in their negotiations for an Anglo-Soviet pact have been so anxious to limit it to Europe. The Spaniards could attempt to win back the Spanish territory of Gibraltar. And if in all these cases there happened to be a large number of blonde "volunteers" whose native language was German, that of course would be unfortunate, but it would not justify a new world war.

* * * * *

The British decision to set up a Department of Information in peace time is in most ways a welcome, if belated, attempt to check this sort of propaganda, but even now one doubts whether the Government realises how much can be done and should be done towards preventing war and not merely winning it when it has broken out. At a time when money is being spent so fast that noughts have no meaning, every conceivable effort should be made to destroy the "encirclement" myth. Admittedly it is not easy—one cannot for example drop millions of leaflets from aeroplanes over the territory of a government with which we maintain friendly relations. But we have not recognised the annexation of Czecho-Slovakia and the Czechs are thirsty for news bulletins in their own language. Far more bulletins in German might be broadcast,

and broadcast by Englishmen rather than Germans who, all too easily, can be discredited by Dr. Goebbels as renegades. The normally intelligent tourist who visits Germany does, it is true, take in a certain amount of foreign exchange that may be turned into guns to be used against us, but also he is a humble ambassador whose tolerant and friendly views must help to destroy this myth that the British people, or even the British Government, have any quarrel with the people of Germany; therefore he should be encouraged.

Flattering the Balkan Chemist

And while we are talking of spending money, how much more we might do in the direction of peace through other countries than Germany alone. Those governments that look to us for credits are far more often

THE PACT OF STEEL

One of the composite photomontage pictures for which the Paris weekly, *Marianne* (from which this is taken), is famous.

treated as poor relations than as potential allies. A few days ago I was shown a beautifully bound volume on the struggle against disease issued by a great firm of German chemical manufacturers and beautifully illustrated with old engravings. This volume, I understand, has been sent to practically every chemist in the Balkan States and in each case on the title page there is a little printed dedication with his own name. What small-town chemist could fail to be flattered by such a token of esteem? It is not perhaps necessary for the British to develop propaganda on the same scale but it is necessary for them fundamentally to alter their idea towards the smaller nations, not one of which they dare now—so have the values changed—treat with contempt. For that reason one welcomes a Department of Information, although one wonders whether the best methods have been adopted in bringing it into existence.

The value of such propaganda as the British Government has encouraged in the past has lain in its lack of exaggeration. Inevitably every word that is telegraphed, telephoned or cabled from London will now start with something of the same handicap as words from the totalitarian states. It is unfortunate, but it cannot be helped, and we have to see how this disadvantage can be more than offset by an intelligent and energetic department.

* * * * *

Had the Government been wise it would long ago have faced up to the fact that we are engaged in a war with the totalitarian states. It would, in consequence, have quietly developed every possible means of influencing public opinion in Germany, Italy and the neutral states in our favour. It already has at the Foreign Office a very able but very understaffed News Department, and it should long ago have increased the number and the prerogatives of the officials that work in it.

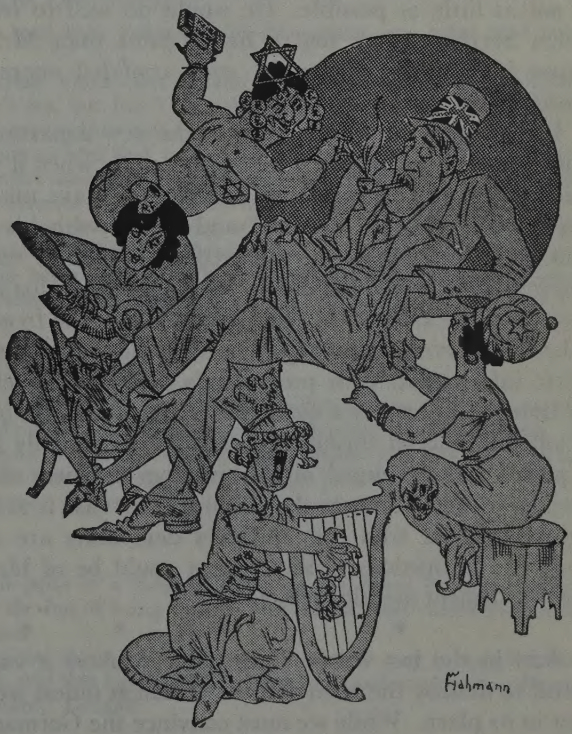
It also has a British official wireless news service, which goes all over the world and which is of value just because it is admittedly official and avoids anything in the nature of expressions of opinion. If there were ten instead of two officials to run that service, it might have been possible to expand it so that certain zones received only messages likely to interest them. There are in London scores upon scores of foreign correspondents who in some cases are also the channels through which news telegraphed from all over Europe reaches newspapers in far-distant countries, and it should have been possible to turn every one of these correspondents into a propaganda agent, in the best sense of the

words, by cutting down transmission costs to a minimum and by giving every possible facility for the covering of news. All this could have been done without any talk about a Ministry of Information and thus without giving any opportunity for Dr. Goebbels to convince his spoon-fed public that every word from Great Britain is another bullet fired in the great encirclement battle.

Lord Perth's Appointment

The Government, however, preferred to wait until the public demand for a Propaganda Ministry became so strong that it had to take some step in public. Hence Lord Perth's appointment. Of one side of his work—the preparation for a full-blown ministry in the event of war—nothing need be said here, for that eventuality, thank God, has not yet arisen. But how can he and the members of his department best

THE PASHA



'Kladderadatsch,' Berlin

carry out their important job of co-ordinating all the efforts to make the British case known throughout the world?

Lord Perth, as Secretary General of the League of Nations from the time when it still had no official existence, has shown great ability for building up a new public service, and his native caution kept him from treading too heavily on the toes of officials who resented the growth of a new department. But that considerable asset may be outweighed by two handicaps. He has not had very intimate dealings with the newspapers and several of his dealings have probably led him to wish that newspapers did not exist at all. The second handicap is that, as Ambassador in Rome, he was looked upon as being favourably disposed towards at any rate one of the two great totalitarian states that now threaten our existence. He can only remove these handicaps if he realises that the best way to deal with newspaper men is to tell them as much and not as little as possible. He would do well to remember that no Foreign Secretary ever had a better press than Mr. Anthony Eden because no Foreign Secretary ever confided more frankly in its representatives.

If there were any suspicion that the new department were seeking to suppress or to influence the news, especially when it was dealing with foreign journalists, its formation would be a grave misfortune. For ten years Lord Perth was my chief and it was with his permission that, although an official, I was allowed to broadcast on foreign affairs. Therefore I believe that, unless he has greatly changed since he left Geneva and the League, he will himself favour the freedom of the press, but he may have to fight with considerable vigour against others who confuse information with propaganda and the interests of the nation with those of a party or a class. He would, I believe, be well advised to develop information through the newspapers mainly by strengthening the power and personnel of the existing channels of news. There is enough work to be done in the cultural field, that is to say in explaining why those of us who call ourselves democrats are as proud of our democratic institutions as any Fascist could be of his, to keep a very large department usefully active.

* * * * *

And in the last resort, since nature abhors a vacuum, it will be difficult to destroy the encirclement obsession unless we have something to put in its place. While we must convince the German people that the

encirclement is of their Government's making and that we are prepared for any sacrifice in order to prevent a forcible destruction of our own institutions and ideals, we must also convince them that we have a better alternative to offer. Lord Perth would deserve well of mankind if his department could draw up before war begins the sort of peace terms that peace-loving nations would wish to see drafted if war took place. It should be made clear that we do not fear war, but that we will make concessions for peace, and nobody should be able to confuse the British lion with a dog in the manger. It is not enough to convince the German people that further acts of aggression will involve them in war and defeat. One would like the new department of information to convince Germany that only peace was profitable.

VENEZUELA SMILES ON LOVE

It is pleasant to read that Venezuela, in this serious age, takes time out to encourage love.

Whether the current Venezuelan dictator has been influenced by Hollywood script writers we can't say, but the Venezuelan postal service has announced that love letters henceforth may be sent half-rate.

This is so charming an idea that we hate to mention that there are two catches in it: one, that the letters must be in pink envelopes for ready identification; second, that the Government reserves the right to open these letters and read them.

Bureaucracy, however, is bureaucracy, whether in Venezuela or the United States. To a bureaucrat the difference between a love letter and an income tax report is the difference between Form 24X4 and Form 376Z1. Venezuelan swains are really lucky they haven't been ordered to submit carbons for filing.—*"New York Post."*

CRICKET ON THE HEARTH

The Nawab of Pataudi and his bride Princess Sajida Sultan after their marriage in Bhopal. The wedding united two of the greatest sporting families in India. The Nawab played cricket for Oxford University, Worcestershire and England. His bride is the daughter of the Nawab of Bhopal, a leading patron of cricket in India.—*"Sunday Referee," caption to picture.*

DIRT CHEAP

Four guineas, the price of a lady's voucher for the Royal Enclosure, is not a great deal to pay for the fun of being "on the set" for the most varied and amusing dress parade of the year.

But besides the ticket there are the dresses. It is quite easy to spend £200 on dresses for Ascot week, and that figure excludes hats, shoes and accessories.—*Woman's Page, "Evening Standard," London.*

PACT DIFFICULTIES

IVAN IS SUSPICIOUS OF THE MUTUAL AID PLAN

Fitzpatrick, "St. Louis Post Dispatch"

ENCIRCLEMENT ARIA

Chamberlain: "If the drummer *will* play out of time, it is going to spoil our whole beautiful concert."

"Angriff," Berlin

THE OPEN FORUM

NEW SPIRIT IN THE ARMY

Democracy and the Militia

by MAJOR B. T. REYNOLDS

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing the views they express, articles from men who are experts in their various spheres. Major Reynolds, who is Military Correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian," is the author of "Prelude to Hitler" and numerous writings on the political and social aspect of military matters

SINCE March of this year a number of measures have been brought in, the effect of which has been to expand the British Army at home, Regular and Territorial, by something like 150 per cent. Up to a point this was carried out by voluntary recruiting. Indeed, the voluntary system did all that was asked of it. If we finally introduced six months' Militia service for all men of twenty this was done, not to supersede voluntary enlistment, but to supplement it. The object was to provide a force for the permanent manning of the home defence anti-aircraft guns and searchlights, to improve the efficiency and maintain the strength of the Territorial field force divisions by ensuring a constant flow of trained soldiers into their ranks and, lastly, to increase the trained reserves available for the Regular Army on mobilisation. Six months' compulsory service in the Militia is an essential part of the mechanism by which we are to maintain an army of close on a million men. It is this which enables us to maintain this very considerable army in a state of constant readiness for war and with the minimum of interference with the normal life of the nation.

But of all the measures introduced, compulsory military service in peace-time constitutes the greatest break with tradition. Those of us who remember the men who fought in the last war, and the revulsion from all things military that swept over the country after 1918, must be asking ourselves many questions to-day. How do the Militiamen of 1939

compare with their fathers? In what spirit are they approaching their military service? Finally, in what spirit is the army preparing to meet them? Are they going to "put them through it," or have they evolved new methods of dealing with recruits, more in keeping with the times? A lot depends on the answers to these questions.

As regards the men themselves, I recently spent a day as Military Interviewing Officer attached to a Medical Board. The district was a West London suburb within easy reach of the factories on the Great West and North Circular roads. I saw some fifty men and they varied from public school boys, through various grades of skilled worker, to milk roundsmen and window cleaners—a fair sample of the Militiamen who will be coming up for training next month. The doctors did their job very thoroughly. Three men were rejected as unfit and another three put back for re-examination later. The remainder were all graded I. The Chairman of the Board said that their general health and physique compared very favourably with that of conscripts he had examined in the last war. They struck me as looking a very good lot.

Intelligent Men

The preliminary working of the Military Training Bill is entirely in the hands of the Ministry of Labour and I was the first soldier with whom they had come into official contact. My job was to interview them with a view to recommending their posting to an arm of the service in such a way as to meet, not only military requirements, but also, as far as possible, their own wishes. To do this I had to elicit a good deal more information than there was on their official papers—their educational qualifications, their hobbies and tastes, any reasons they might have for preferring a particular corps.

Only a small proportion of them had done nothing to improve their general or technical education since leaving school. They were quick and intelligent and, as soon as they discovered that I was trying to fit round pegs into round holes, they opened up and helped me in every way they could. I found that I could allow every man five to ten minutes without unduly prolonging the proceedings and this was sufficient to give me enough information to go on. The final postings were to be done later by another officer who had to fit the men into the quotas allotted to the various corps: my recommendations would serve him as a guide.

The obvious place for fitters and tradesmen of all kinds was in the technical corps. But, in many cases, a man's civil trade did not fit into army requirements or, for some reason or other, he did not want to follow it. For instance, one public school boy who was a bank clerk said, rather regretfully I thought, that he supposed he ought to go into the Army Pay Corps. He finally agreed that it would be better to do his training with a motor regiment and afterwards join one of the Territorial motor regiments in London. This, too, would give him a chance of going for a commission.

The majority appeared to be looking forward to their time with the army. One young Welshman who was graded III by the doctors was

IN THE BRITISH ARMY—AS AN ITALIAN IMAGINES IT

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

bitterly disappointed when told that he would not be called up. Most were anxious, very naturally, not to lose touch with their civil trade, or even to learn something, such as motor driving, that would be of use to them later. A high proportion knew something about the internal combustion engine and had ridden motor bicycles or driven cars, fewer had handled lorries. Several of the better-educated men asked if they would have any spare time, as they were anxious to continue their studies. I told them this would be perfectly possible. Several wanted to go into the R.A.F. In cases where they had obvious qualifications I put this down as their first preference, with a second choice in the army in case they were refused. Others wanted to do their service with the navy. If the man had no seafaring experience and was only attracted by the idea of wearing bell-bottomed trousers, I pointed out that it took far longer to make a sailor than it did to impart a working knowledge of soldiering. It is typical of the sensible attitude in which they approached the matter that they agreed at once, and set about finding the most suitable place for themselves in the army.

I only had one disgruntled man and the reason was that he was running a little business on his own, which would inevitably go to pieces whilst he was serving. It was open to him to apply to a Hardship Tribunal for exemption or postponement. But a cardinal principle in any form of compulsory military service is that it must be of universal application. There will always be hard cases.

Unpopular Infantry

In view of tales they had heard of the last war it is perhaps not surprising that only a minority wanted to join the infantry. Most of them were unaware of the extent to which the infantry had been mechanised and I found myself having to do a certain amount of propaganda for this arm. The infantryman has more to learn than any other soldier and they are mostly things that have no counterpart in civil life. He is, in a sense, the artist of the battlefield, or should be. But this was not easy to put over. One lad begged me to recommend him for a corps where he would not be asked "to stick a bayonet into anybody."

To sum up the result of some fifty interviews. The attitude of the Militiamen was willing and matter-of-fact. They approached the prospect of military service in a spirit of, "Here's a job to be done. Let's get on with it." One could not help comparing it with the "big-drum"

atmosphere of cheap emotion that seems the inseparable counterpart of any large-scale voluntary recruitment. They were a good lot physically and I was particularly struck by the fact that a considerable proportion of them appeared to have alert inquiring minds.

A few weeks before, I visited an infantry regimental depot in a county town in southern England. The staff were taking an immense amount of trouble with the recruits. For the first six weeks they did nothing but education and physical training. And, judging by the appearance of the squads I saw, both were very necessary. The difference between the Replacements and the Militiamen was that the overwhelming majority of the former were obviously drawn from the least fortunate section of the community whereas the Militiamen represented a fair cross section of the nation, with a due proportion of the natural talent of all kinds including that of leadership. Nor was this confined solely to any one class.

The course designed for the Militiamen necessarily varies in the different arms. But the general principles are the same throughout. It is designed to give them the maximum of practical military knowledge with the minimum of drill and frills. Special attention is to be paid to weapon training and field work and every effort is to be made to discover leadership wherever it is to be found. Potential leaders irrespective of their social class are to be given special courses in the last months of their service.

From my own experience the attitude of the Militiamen is a hundred per cent co-operative, and this is borne out by the verdict of everyone to whom I have spoken who has come into contact with them. They are somewhat different material from that with which the army has been accustomed to deal. But if met with sympathy and understanding they will prove far easier to teach than the average Regular recruit.

Democratic Revolution in Progress

The army has undergone something of a revolution in the last two years under the influence of a forceful and energetic Secretary of State. The men who now lead it all served as regimental officers in the last war and their outlook differs very much from that of their seniors. As an instance of this new outlook—Mr. Hore-Belisha recently went down to Sandhurst to sum up in a debate of the cadets' debating society. The motion was, "that in the opinion of this house, the Royal Military

College should in future be recruited from the Militia." Whether the motion was carried, and if so by how many votes, is immaterial. Sandhurst is not the Oxford Union. What is interesting is that it was debated, and it was probably not by chance that the Secretary of State for War was present. We did not introduce compulsory military service because it was democratic, but because we had to, as the best way to meet a situation that had arisen. But, having introduced it, we may well find out that it is a democratic institution, as our French friends have done before us. We have often enough heard the plea for a more democratically constituted army and it is difficult to see how this result could be attained by any other means. It is to the eternal credit of the old army that it contrived to extract a proportion of leadership from the material passing into its ranks. But it is doubtful if more than a small proportion of officers could ever have been drawn from this source. Nor was it easy to attract into Sandhurst, even on a scholarship basis, anything more than a limited class to compete for commissions in an army that was notoriously, whether it liked it or not, out of touch with the main stream of the national life. In the hands of a Secretary of State gifted with imagination and insight the Military Training Act opens up opportunities for army reform far wider than anything we have yet seen. These in turn may well have far-reaching repercussions in our social life.

JAPAN'S IMPERIAL HOUSE

It is a significant fact that the Imperial House has never taken a family name. Japanese subjects distinguish each other by the use of surnames, but the Imperial House has none, although each Emperor has his own given name. This is because there is no necessity for the Imperial House to distinguish itself from the family names of the subjects. When Imperial sons, with the exception of the Crown Prince, come of age, they leave the Palace and assume separate "family" names, but strictly speaking they are not really family names. When their sons and daughters descend to the status of subjects, they, of course, assume their family names. This unique fact demonstrates the deathlessness of the long Imperial Line, and testifies to the fact that no Emperor of Japan has ever been enthroned through the possession of individual military strength of virtuous endowment. Shoguns, on the other hand, had family names, and their rise and fall accompanied changes of time, but the Imperial House alone withstood all changes. If we were to attempt to give the Imperial House a family name, it must either include the family name of every Japanese in the realm or merely the one word "Nippon."—*"Contemporary Japan," Tokyo.*

THE COLONIAL PROBLEM MUST BE SOLVED

African Powers Should Combine

by L. HADEN GUEST

Dr. Haden Guest, Labour Member of Parliament, author of "The Struggle for Power in Europe," "The New Russia," "The New British Empire," etc., speaks from first-hand and expert knowledge of Empire problems. He is the founder of the Labour Party Commonwealth Group, and has taken an active part in other Empire parliamentary work. The latest of his tours of investigation was one he made recently as a member of the Royal Commission which visited the ex-German African colonies

THERE is no solution for the colonial problem by simply handing back Germany's pre-war colonies. If it were as simple as that we should have heard more from Herr Hitler on the subject but he has always been careful to say that the colonial question is not one for decision by war.

But equally there is no solution to the colonial problem to be found by the continuance of the present methods of colonial government and colonial trade by the European Powers concerned.

There is at present no solution to the colonial question because there is no general colonial policy. There are only the separate policies of the different nations and in many cases the different policies of their separate colonies.

Great Britain has never faced up to the need of an all-embracing colonial policy, although she has been bound to face up to the breakdown of political and economic organisation in the West Indies. Not to mention the extremely difficult problem, essentially "colonial" in nature, of Newfoundland.

To hand back colonies to Germany to-day is impossible for an excellent reason, namely, that this would mean the introduction into Africa (and any other continent in which Germany got foothold) of Nazi shock politics of the Austrian Anschluss and Czechoslovakia kind. This would

bring to Africa and Asia the political and military uncertainty which makes any forward political planning in Europe a matter of steering from crisis to crisis. It would solve nothing.

But there are other reasons against handing back German colonies. All these colonies have been made "mandated" territories and are governed under provisions which bring them under the inspection and, to some extent, control of the League of Nations. The consent of all the other nations members of the League would be necessary for any change and, most important of all, the consent of the colonies themselves. In Tropical Africa the native populations have made it very clear that they will not give this consent. In South-West Africa the Union Government have been equally emphatic and in other areas consent would not be given.

But the over-riding consideration and the one which in my judgment ought to be regarded as the governing consideration against a mere handing back policy is that the whole colonial problem in its relation to the rest of the world has been revolutionised by economic, largely transport and communications, changes since the end of the World War in 1918. It is the economic changes in the world since 1918 that have so greatly transformed it that make a new colonial policy, a world colonial policy, essential. It is only permissible here to indicate the scale of these changes in the merest sketch.

It is clear that there has been everywhere a great increase, in one form or another, of the power of the state and the responsibility of the state. The economic conditions prevailing in the Soviet Union and in Germany and Italy are obvious examples. But no less significant are the economic changes in Great Britain, in France and, perhaps most of all, in that afore-time castle of individualism, the United States.

World Trade Control Now a Commonplace

Looking at another aspect of the matter, nothing is more characteristic of the world to-day than world regulation—or attempted regulation—of large scale production and trade. Control of production and sale of commodities as wide apart in use as copper and wheat have been attempted on a world basis. The same or similar means have been applied to a whole range of commodities—tin, rubber, cotton, and so on. In another way national organisation, direction and control of trade have been a commonplace. Examples are not only to be seen in Soviet Russia

and in Nazi Germany but in Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand.

The economic developments of the world since 1918 have not left Africa untouched, although much of tropical Africa, even then, was still virgin and untouched. And as lately as 1900 the West Coast of Africa, the gate to the heart of tropical Africa, was almost as cut off from Europe as in the time of Vasco da Gama.

The ancient geographical continent of Africa is a new economic continent in the 1939 world. Since 1918 roads, railways, telegraphs, telephones, radio, aeroplanes, European trade, European education, European government and European health organisation have penetrated almost everywhere. You can cross the African continent by motor car from north to south and east to west at your choice and with very little difficulty. Africa is in the modern world now. It is impossible to keep her away from still further commitments. She is at present dangerously drifting. Yet there is hope, for if we can find a solution for the problem in Africa we shall have found the main outline of a solution all over the world.

The policy of drift in British colonial policy must be stopped and a policy of planned and directed development must be begun both on the political and economic sides of the question, and we should begin now.

In Africa there should be first of all a series of conferences of African colonial powers to consider the political and economic policies pursued by them and an understanding arrived at as to their present differences.

BIRTH-RATE CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE

"They say, if one keeps one's thoughts on Daladier, it's sure to be a boy."

"Le Canard Enchaîné"

Taking the political side first. The policies of France, Great Britain, Belgium, Spain and Portugal are not the same. What is worse, the policies of the different colonies under the same European power are not the same. To take the case of our own colonies. There are four in West Africa: The Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. They have different policies on important points although they are generally similar. But the political policy of West Africa as a whole is different from that of the East African colonies of Kenya, the mandated territory of Tanganyika and from that of the Sudan. Going further afield beyond the colonial areas to the Rhodesias and the South African Union, which includes native areas of essentially colonial type, such as Basutoland and Bechuanaland, the political divergencies are greater still.

Political differences from east to west and north to south in a country joined by natural bush paths can perhaps be ignored, but political differences of an extreme kind, such as those which divide West Africa and the South African Union, in a country united by motor roads, railways and aeroplanes can easily produce serious political and economic disturbances. However difficult it may be therefore, Great Britain must set out to achieve some degree of unity in the general political principles of colonial government and should consult with the Union of South Africa also. And finally all the colonial powers of Africa must consult together.

But difficult as is the political side of African organisation the work can be done by extensions and modifications of present arrangements. The economic direction of Africa, however, presents still more difficult problems.

Enormous Development Is Possible

There is, to begin with, the size of the African economic problem. Its hundred millions of native peoples, its vast distances, its enormous untapped resources. And there is the need above all of so guiding African colonial development that it will not upset the markets of the world. Take, for example, the production of oil from the oil palm, the ground nut, and other oil-bearing plants. This production will need to be co-ordinated with that of the East Indies and will probably need world control. Similarly with cocoa and other tropical products.

And how is the vast project of African economic development to be financed? Very large sums are required for investment on long range

projects, such as that of the Niger Dam made by the French, big development railways, irrigation works, mining and so on.

But in the very gravity of the economic difficulty may perhaps be found the way to the economic solution. It would appear, from a preliminary survey of the economic needs of Africa for development, that many millions of pounds sterling will be required. They should be provided, as suggested in the report of M. van Zeeland, not from the resources of one nation only but from those of a group of nations. It would be of great benefit to Africa to develop it by the use of internationally subscribed capital working through partially state-controlled companies in the different colonial areas, and to invite all the nations of Europe, including the non-colonial nations such as Poland and the Scandinavian powers as well as the colonies themselves to participate. It would be essential to invite the colonial areas themselves to participate and for their governments to hold on behalf of the native populations a large and for some purposes a controlling share. This project will interest all European states in Colonial Development and into such an organisation, Germany and Italy could be invited to come on equal terms with other European nations.

The African's Final Equality

Finally a word on general policy. The aim of colonial policy in Africa should be to abolish the status of "colonies" at the earliest practicable moment and bring Africa into the world assembly of nations on equal terms with all the rest. To do this and to ensure the proper development of Africa it will be essential to preserve the African family or tribal land-tenure system, which is the guarantee of African economic independence and security. On this basis a Great Africa, no longer a colonial area but an Africa equal in the world with other countries, can be built. There is no going back to the primitive for Africa; the future is one either of drift and political and economic difficulties and dangers for decades, perhaps centuries, to come or planned economic development on terms of partnership with the other great nations of the world. This is no dream. It is, if you like, a foreseeing on the lines of Rhodes' plan of "equal rights for all civilised men south of the Zambesi." But political and economic changes have developed swiftly since Rhodes' day. To-day we must extend Rhodes' dictum to all Africa "south of the Sahara." To-morrow it will be all Africa.

Doorve, "Haagsche Post," The Hague

"Don't go so fast, Adolf!"

"Le Canard Enchaine"

"The speech I have just had the honour of giving you for the first time is by Herr von Ribbentrop. The *décor* is by Michaelangelo: the production by Dr. Goebbels. My costume of wood-wool and my synthetic resin helmet are from Maison Goering. My shirt was designed and executed by myself."

"Coffee has been prohibited in Germany and Italy" (*Press report*).
"A good cold bath for the arms is a beneficial substitute for coffee."

"Volkischer Beobachter"

THE FAR EASTERN OFFENSIVE

WAR IN THE BALANCE

From the "Kobe Shimbun," Japan

The Japanese offensive against Britain at Tientsin was a move in accordance with the policy of the military party in Japan. It was also part of Herr Hitler's strategy—that Britain must be brought to realise her Empire is so vulnerable, especially in the Far East, that she can only continue to hold it on the sufferance, or with the aid, of Germany, in return for a free hand for Herr Hitler in Europe. Britain's attempt to secure Russian help was the obvious signal for a move in the East. Here we give some first-hand reports from that part of the world

THERE are two main currents of national opinion as to the course which Japan should pursue in coping with the present world situation. One body of opinion supports the conversion of the Tokyo-Berlin-Rome anti-Comintern axis into a military alliance, with Soviet Russia and Britain as potential enemies. It takes the line that, should another

world war break out, Japan should fight Britain if that country adheres to her pro-Chiang policy.

The other body of opinion is more moderate. It does not endorse the idea of Japan's committing herself too heavily. Those holding this opinion think that it would prove too much for Japan to fight Soviet Russia and the remnants of General Chiang Kai-shek's Army on land and to fight the combined naval forces of Britain, France and America on the sea, in the event of another world war. They contend that Japan's attention should be confined to Soviet Russia in extending the scope of the Anti-Comintern Agreement. She should open hostilities against Soviet Russia at once to put an end to the danger of the Bolshevisation of the Far East. They think that this will have the effect of weakening the ties between the Chinese Kuomintang and the Communist Party, thereby accelerating the settlement of the China affair.

It is noteworthy that neither body of opinion takes account of the anti-Japanese utterances of American leaders and American "bluff policy," as evidenced in the transfer of the main force of the American fleet to the Pacific. This general indifference to the American attitude comes from the belief generally held among the Japanese people that America's challenge to Japan, at the side of Britain and France, in the event of a world conflagration would only result in the destruction of the American fleet in the Western Pacific.

WHERE WAR SUPPLIES COME FROM

Dependence on America and Britain

by FREDA UTLEY

From "Far Eastern Service," London

IT is realised by Japan's wiser statesmen that a closer association with Germany and Italy might cause the United States to treat Japan in the same fashion as it is treating Germany. The United States clamped a 25 per cent duty on German goods as a punishment for the rape of Bohemia; similar action taken against Japan might force the latter to stop her war in China. The United States is already practically committed to an anti-German policy; Japan is terrified lest the United States

should become as interested in stopping her aggression as in stopping Germany's.

According to figures presented to the American Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, the United States is supplying Japan with the following percentages of her imports of war materials: Trucks, 91 per cent; Pig iron, 41 per cent; Copper, 93 per cent; Scrap iron, 60 per cent; Oil, 60 per cent; Gasolene, 100 per cent; Machinery and engines, 48 per cent.

Should the United States place an embargo on shipments of scrap iron, steel and oil to Japan, or should she merely put a prohibitive duty on silk imports from Japan, Japan's war machine would be crippled. Japan would be unable to make good the loss of the American silk market elsewhere, and she would find it more and more difficult to purchase sufficient metals, for it is difficult to see how she could get the cash to purchase them even if Europe were not using all its supplies for its own rearmament. The second largest supplier of war materials to Japan is the British Empire (in particular Canada), and it is sales to British Empire markets which form Japan's largest source of foreign currency for the purchase of war materials.

WEAK SPOTS AT SINGAPORE

by RUPERT LOCKWOOD

(formerly Reuter's correspondent at Singapore and chief-of-staff of the *Straits Times*)

From the "Austral-Asiatic Bulletin," Melbourne, May-June

SINGAPORE is the mightiest citadel of the Seven Seas, the Gibraltar of the East, the impregnable island fortress that guards the imperial gateway between East and West. Working in the sticky heat haze that always hangs over this symbol of an untameable British Lion, we ran out of terms with which to impress on half a million natives, touring British taxpayers and a Fifth Column of Japanese barbers, dry-cleaners and man-servants, just how impregnable a place our British Navy, Army and Air Force experts had made of Stamford Raffles' swampy mudbank.

Ship after ship brought wonder-guns that were to lift ugly muzzles over the most enchanted islands of the Indies. Gangs of men and

women coolies from China turned up the malarial mud, shifted hills and water-courses, bought their opium from the Straits Settlements Government stores, and occasionally died before the imperial monument had taken shape. The coolies and their British directors turned Kallang swamp, Seletar mangroves, and Tengah rubber plantations into great air bases. The mangrove-lined Straits of Johore got the largest floating dock, and second largest graving dock, in the world. The wonder-guns, whose calibre local rumour put as high as 18 inches, were laid in concrete nests on the islands of Blakang Mati, Pulau Brani and Pulau Tekon, and at Changi, Seletar and other points on the main island.

Let an enemy fleet dare threaten the great British citadel, we boasted, and a storm of shells would sweep the seas twenty, thirty miles from Singapore. Not an enemy battleship would be left afloat, or, if there were, the British fleet based on Singapore, having been refitted at the docks and repair sheds and refuelled from the blue oil tanks that rise above the coconut-palms, would steam majestically out of port and finish the invader off.

For a while, I almost believed it. . . .

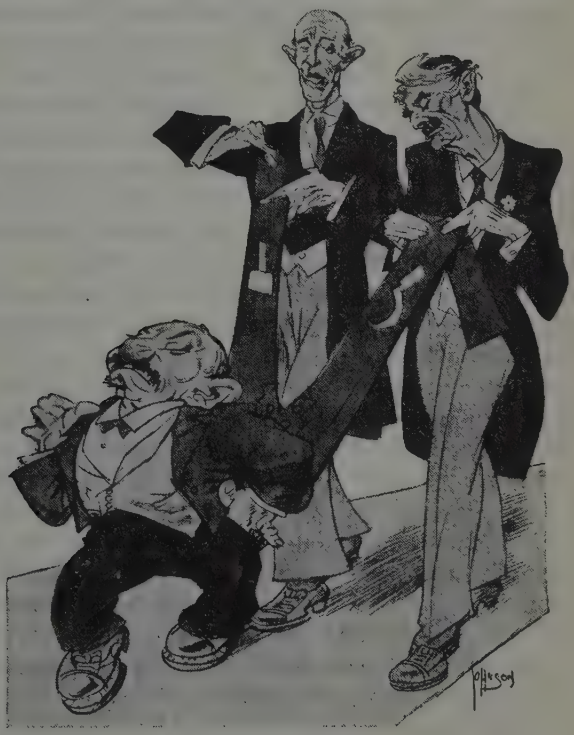
Jumble of Races

One needs a fair picture of Singapore to consider its military and naval problems. It is a low-lying, once pestilential, bank of mud commanding the main sea highway between the Pacific and Indian Oceans. It is little more than 20 miles across at its longest point. In the villages and city are about half a million Chinese and about 200,000 Malays, Indians, Japanese, Singalese, Arabs, Filipinos, Jews, Siamese, Burmese and other peoples. The European population, with Navy, Army and Air Force garrisons is probably about 16,000 or 17,000 by now, and there is the usual colony of Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish, and British Eurasians to remind tourists of the trials of bearing the white man's burden.

Most of the city, away from the business and European quarters, is crowded, ill-built, ill-lit and unsewered. . . . The harbour is always crowded with junks and fishing boats and small and large steamers. How many soldiers in disguise could arrive unnoticed with the junk traffic it is difficult to estimate. Singapore newspapers have been complaining for a long while about the grip Japan is getting on Singapore banking, shipping, wholesale and retail trades. The fishing industry has become largely Japanese.

The barbering trade is mostly Japanese; so is the dry-cleaning. It is a popular story that the barbers and dry-cleaners are officers of the Japanese army and navy. Asiatic boys are always employed in British officers' homes; they are supposed to be Hylams from Hainan, but many may be Formosans, Koreans or Japanese who speak, and can pass for, Chinese. The Japanese own rubber estates, some of them within easy range of Singapore base, and they show a regard for their labour unknown in Osaka or Tokio by building large "playing fields" for coolies. The Japanese have practically a monopoly of the development of the valuable iron ore deposits on the Malay Peninsula. They are the heaviest purchasers of ilmenite, a by-product of Malayan tin mines, which is used to make naval smoke-screens. Malaya generously provides for Japan the means of making her navy invisible for an attack on the Malay

THE BOLSHEVIK'S TRAINBEARERS



"Kladderadatsch" Berlin

Peninsula, and the steel for battleship plates. It was announced, while I was in Singapore, that the Japanese had established "fishing colonies" on unoccupied British islands off the coast of Borneo, but no action was taken. Now Spratly Island has been calmly acquired by Japan.

The Japanese near-at-hand threats to Singapore are that they have potential air and military bases up the Malay Peninsula, where a landing would be made in preference to a direct naval attack on Singapore; they have a strong Fifth Column on Singapore Island, capable of dislocating sections of the defences; they have modern fishing fleets from which they could lay mines, and they might also make surprise landings of small "suicide corps" from junks and fishing boats.

I do not suggest that Singapore could be captured from within, but Fifth Column disruption of the single rail link with the Peninsula, of water, power and supply services and other wrecking, would be of great assistance to Japanese on the Peninsula. Once there was a safeguard against advance down the Peninsula to Singapore—the impenetrable Malayan jungle. That is being cut down for pineapples and rubber trees.

The most serious aspect of Singapore defence is food supply. The island grows very little food and the Peninsula is not developed as a food area, except for pineapples, bananas and other fruits. The easy-going Malay usually only grows enough rice for himself. Singapore's Asiatic population gets its rice from Burma, Siam and Indo-China; the European population its meat, butter, milk and flour from Australia. Storage of food is difficult and expensive because of the deteriorating, year-long equatorial summer. Tinned food can keep the garrison going, but troops will not thrive on it.

When we consider blockade danger we must assume that the Japanese Navy will be in control east of Singapore. The Straits of Malacca and the Indian Ocean are taken as a zone of British control, as they were in the last war. We know what a single raider, the *Emden,* did in this zone—the oil tanks at Madras, the French destroyer and Russian cruiser at Penang, the thousands of tons of Allied merchant shipping bound for Singapore, China and Australia. The disposition of German and Italian submarines in the South Atlantic and Red Sea, and of certain Italian and German cruisers, indicates that due attention will be paid by raiders to British shipping in the Indian Ocean if Italy, Germany and Japan are to be our enemies.

If Singapore had to rely on food and reinforcements from Australia,

the most necessary defence measure, assuming that we could not control east coast raiders, would be a road or rail route to Darwin to shorten the sea route, adequate aircraft repair facilities there, and a watertight agreement with the Dutch, use of whose bases and patrol facilities would be necessary. We would also need a merchant fleet large enough to stand war wastage, and more transport planes capable of carrying troops. . . .

The Royal Air Force has fine aerodromes on the island and peninsular, even if their planes are mostly out-of-date. However, the Vickers Wellesley flight to Australia shows that reinforcement is much simpler these days, so long as there is a reservoir of planes east of the European zone.

The oil tanks impress people who have never previously taken the slightest interest in military affairs. Passengers coming in by air-liner see them standing out as perfect targets, built above the ground as if there were no such thing as bombing planes. The graving dock and floating dock also look gaping targets from the air.

Vulnerable from the Air

Conditions at Singapore are remarkably favourable to air attack—and, on the low-lying swampy island and overcrowded city, to gas attack. There are always friendly banks of clouds round the island, and in the tropical haze it is not possible to see a plane over 7,000 feet.

Passive defence for the Asiatic civilians plays little part in military calculations. The Asiatics are about 90 per cent illiterate and would be almost certain to panic, as they did in China. There are Asiatic troops on the island, who would probably be loyal, although many Singaporeans remember from painful experience the mutiny of the Indian troops during the Great War. If it was a fight with Japan, the Chinese would certainly be loyal, but few of them have military training.

The British Admiralty persists in saying that a capital ship squadron would be sent to Singapore in time of war. It would be much easier to send it in time of peace. I doubt very much that Britain, in view of the new threat from the bases at Bilbao, El Ferrol, Cadiz, Malaga and other Spanish ports, and from the Canary Islands, the Balearics, Ceuta, Sicily, Rhodes, Pantellaria, Massawa and the Italian Red Sea islands, could ever contemplate sending one ship away from European waters.

But the Singapore garrison will have its wonder-guns.

ANTI-BRITISH PROPAGANDA
Insults to Missionaries

From the "North China Herald," Shanghai

WHILE the Japanese authorities in Shanghai are bringing pressure to bear on the Shanghai Municipal Council to suppress anti-Japanese propaganda appearing in local Chinese newspapers under foreign registration, a considerable amount of anti-British propaganda is appearing in Japanese-owned or controlled Chinese newspapers in Shanghai, Nanking and Hangchow. Below are published extracts from recent articles in the *Sin Shun Pao,* a newspaper produced in Shanghai.

In one article, the writer gives his version of the history of the missionary movement in China since "the defeat of the Manchu Government by the English-French Allied forces in the eighth year of the reign of Emperor Yen Foong." Chinese induced to become Christians have fallen into a trap and although churches, schools and hospitals have been opened those "who have some understanding of international affairs know that missionary work is being utilised as a golden signboard to induce others to enter the trap" and "missionary schools are engaged in an invasion of China by means of culture."

The article proceeds that where there are mission schools there is the sale of foreign goods and Chinese culture is ignored, for the object is to bring up Chinese obedient to foreign countries. It continues:

> Take, for instance, the churches in the British and French Concession in Shanghai. There are numerous "dark curtains" in their reckless proselytizing. We have often heard of fights among missionaries, pastors or senior priests. Most of the Christian widows allow themselves to be debauched by responsible members of missions or by male Christians, because their Lord Jesus Christ has preached: " . . . If others slap my left cheek, I am prepared to offer my right cheek to them. . . ."
>
> Chiang Kai-shek, the anti-Japanese leader, is advocating the worship of Jesus Christ in order to obtain assistance from Europe and America and to demonstrate his loyalty to foreigners. . . .
>
> The so-called children of God wear their best clothing on Sundays and attend churches in order to meet sweethearts or to choose their mates with the pastors acting as go-betweens.

The article declares that those in charge of the missions at present are former corrupt officials, politicians and bandits and such an assembly of wretchedness and meanness is a resort for vileness and viciousness.

It continues:

There is a ridiculous practice in the various churches in China which takes the form of offering prayers for peace in the Sino-Japanese hostilities. The prayer reads: " . . . Dear Father in Heaven, we beseech you with every Heavenly power to help Chiang Kai-shek of China to drive away all the Japanese troops out of China's territory. Be quick! Be quick! . . ."

Is this praying for peace or is it an instigation of strife among mankind? If God really exists or if God is really kind and is at all times sending His Son Christ to save the people, as preached by the priests, then the present disaster should not have taken place.

We are of the opinion that if we are to pray to God, we should pray as follows:—

"God the Father, pray pardon the sins of Your sons and daughters because they have now all come to their senses. We pray that You will make use of Your Heavenly might and power to prevent the European and American Powers from assisting the Kuomintang régime of China so as to stop them from bringing more misery and suffering to the people. We pray that God will enable the people of both China and Japan to discard their prejudices against each other and to work in co-operation for the establishment of a new order in East Asia for mutual existence and prosperity."

The article continues that the Bible and the English language are the important subjects on the curriculum of mission schools and those who fail in these subjects do not graduate. Those who do graduate secure employment in foreign concerns. Free medicine and free treatment are given by missionaries to poor Christians, this being "part of the policy of aggression of the British imperialists carried out under the cloak of kindness."

Another article in the same newspaper under the heading: "Hoist the Anti-British Movement Flag" is much more direct in all its anti-British sentiment. It reads:

It will not be difficult for Japan to crush the remaining influence of the Kuomintang Army in the present hostilities. The Kuomintang Army is in a most embarrassing position. It is due to the assistance rendered by Britain to Chiang Kai-shek that the war calamities have been prolonged. If Britain had not instigated the Kuomintang to resist, or if she had not rendered assistance to China after the outbreak of hostilities, the war would have been over long ago. Thus, Britain is responsible for the war and for its prolongation. She is now obstructing the creation of the new order in East Asia. We must wipe out Britain's poisonous policy and oppose Britain so as to save China.

The people of China and Japan are peace-loving. All British help must be rejected. By opposing Britain's poisonous policy of invasion of the Far East, the consolidation of peace in East Asia can be effected. We should hoist the anti-British movement flag as soon as possible in order to bring an early peace to East Asia.

THE SEEDS OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY
China Grows Stronger

From "China at War," Chungking, China

The immensity of the Chinese hinterland, still untouched by the Japanese except by air, is enabling the nation to establish industries far from the fighting zone—not only old industries, but fresh ones, as this article from the new capital tells

BEHIND the protective barrier that has been incidentally created by the war, China's industries in the hinterland are thriving and at the same time learning how to become self-sufficient. Many raw materials, formerly imported, now are not available and substitutes have to be found. Then, prior to the hostilities, Chinese products suffered severely due to the inflow of foreign goods, mainly from Japan. Now on account of difficulty in transport, non-military imports have been necessarily reduced to the minimum, thus leaving the entire market to the native commodities and their manufacturers. To put it in a nutshell, the problem to-day is no longer quality but simply one of supply or no supply until the southwestern railway and highway systems are in full operation, and China's new industries in full swing.

Less than two years ago, numerous Chinese industrial plants depended exclusively on foreign countries for certain raw materials, although the latter were known to be available within China. Take the match factories for instance. Besides the sulphurous chemicals that go to make the ignition heads, they bought pine from as far as the U.S.S.R. and the United States to make sticks with, regardless of the fact that good pine grows in abundance in parts of Hunan and Szechwan.

Then Chinese machine-shops always used American pine trees for making models, while in fact fir grown on the Hupeh-Szechwan border is just as serviceable.

The war has spelt the doom of about 70 per cent of China's textile industry which used to cluster along the narrow coastal fringe. While a number of the mills have been safely moved into the hinterland, to put them back on a productive basis takes considerable time. Meanwhile, the demand for clothing material remains to be met. Here, instead of waiting, the Chinese went right ahead to promote handicraft industry to fill in the gap.

In the pre-war days, farmers' wives along the Yangtze Valley alone turned out 40,000,000 pieces of cotton goods suitable for clothing. Thus side by side with the efforts to push the re-opening of cotton mills and the establishment of new ones, especially in the Southwest, the peasants are encouraged to adopt improved hand looms.

Paper provides a similar case. The art of paper-making was first invented in China. Yet she has never attempted to meet her domestic demand for paper, especially for newsprint. Now a few large plants are being completed. Meanwhile, native paper makers are being instructed to improve their technique so that their output can take care of at least a fair quota of the need.

Oil Substitute

Gasoline is an important war material. China is known to have numerous oil wells but until recently few have ever been scientifically and systematically exploited. Now in charge of this task are experts under the National Resources Commission. However, it will necessarily be some time before China can become self-sufficient in oil. For the duration of the war, China will probably have to import gasoline to be used by her airplanes, military trucks and other motorised weapons of war, but a China-made substitute is being perfected for non-military transportation.

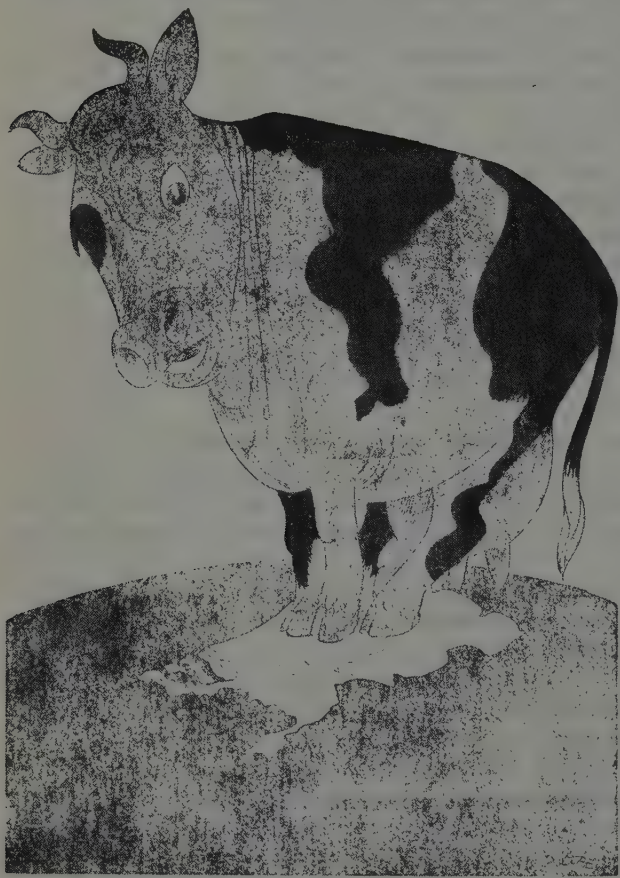
The substitute in question is alcohol. It is used either together with ether or with gasoline. Its power is not as great as gasoline, but for city transportation it meets all requirements. At a new industrial town in Szechwan between Chungking and Chengtu, there is a large alcohol distilling plant.

There are two main sugar-cane producing centres in Szechwan. Every year they produce 14,000 tons of molasses. Through a process of fermentation and distillation, alcohol with 96 per cent purity is being produced in large quantity every day. With further research, it is expected to raise its degree of purity to 98 per cent. All machines used in this plant were made in west China.

Similarly, research has been completed for turning vegetable oil into crude oil for Diesel engines. Wood oil (tung oil) is not the only kind of vegetable oil that is produced in China. There are plenty of vegetable seeds and peanuts to extract oil from.

Szechwan produces the world's best goatskins. In pre-war times

the lion's share of the annual production of 20,000 quintals was exported to foreign countries, principally to the United States where they are made into finished products and resold to China. The present plan, hatched by the National Bureau of Industrial Research, of which Cornell-trained Dr. Ku Yu-tsuan is the director, is to establish many small-scale tanning factories to supplement the few big ones in Szechwan. Thus, goatskins will be converted into leather before exportation.



THE DUTCH COW ASKS, WHAT ABOUT *ITS* LIVING-SPACE

(England has announced that there is to be a drastic reduction in the import of Dutch dairy produce.)

Doeve, "Haagsche Post," The Hague

In the South-western provinces, the Chinese Government with the aid of private manufacturers and financiers, is launching a gigantic industrial programme. Now to set up factories requires machinery which China used to get from overseas. This has become extremely difficult on account of the limited transportation facilities. However, machines there must be, or there will be no factories. The machinery used in the alcohol plant is a case in point.

For cotton spinning and weaving, the Chinese have perfected a machine patterned after an Indian type. Of late, they have ordered a British wool-weaving machine with the understanding that this is the only one needed, for the Chinese intend to duplicate it locally. The British manufacturer has willingly agreed as at present it is difficult for any bulky machines to be imported into war-time China.

At present more than 50 machine-shops, erstwhile located in the now Japanese-occupied areas around Shanghai and the lower Yangtze estuary, have found their new working premises in various parts of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan, three key provinces in China's Southwest. Under the guidance of experts from the National Bureau of Industrial Research, they are busy manufacturing machines to meet the needs of China's new era of industrialisation.

"THE GAME ON WHICH THE SUN NEVER SETS"

Eulogising cricket in a happily phrased speech at a luncheon of welcome to the West Indies Cricket Team, given by the Royal Empire Society, Sir Pelham Warner (far better known as "Plum") spoke with pride on his own West Indian origin and endorsed all that Sir Claud Hollis, ex-Governor of Trinidad, had previously said regarding the enthusiasm with which the game is played in the Caribbean Colonies and the high standards observed. On the previous day the British Sportsman's Club had entertained the team at the Savoy Hotel, when a message of greeting and good wishes was received from His Majesty the King, in response to a loyal message, and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald put aside for a short time his preoccupations as Secretary of State for the Colonies in order to join the company and make a speech which, brief as it was, exceeded (so he declared) the length of any period he had ever spent as a batsman at the wicket. Mr. R. S. Grant, the Cambridge Blue, who is one of Trinidad's representaives and is captain of the team, promised "cricket as it should be played, and in the spirit of goodwill and friendship." The association of ideas in this remark is eloquent of the value of the Imperial game, and for this reason it is to be hoped that those concerned will take up the suggestion made by Sir Julien Cahn,, the noted authority on cricket, that a representative Fijian team should visit England on tour.—*"Crown Colonist," London.*

EUROPE, JULY 1939 EDITION

World Review

STALIN STANDS FIRM

BALTIC DILEMMA

by PIERRE DOMINIQUE

From "La République," Paris, 3.6.39

Although sceptics may feel that it does not ring quite true when the British Government states that it does not wish to impair the independence of small States bordering on Russia by guaranteeing them against their will, the fact remains that the Baltic States (or their Governments), are genuinely fearful of Russian assistance, for reasons given here. Lithuania (on the occasion of the cession of Memel), Latvia and Esthonia have all signed non-aggression pacts with Germany, regardless of the fate of the similar German pact with Poland. So has Denmark, which controls the entrance to the Baltic from the North Sea

M. GABRIEL PÉRI wrote yesterday in *L'Humanité:* "We want a precise answer to this question: "What reason, what principle, what idea lies behind the refusal to protect the Baltic States?"

Instead of venturing to reply myself, I refer him to Madame Tabouis' article in *L'Oeuvre* of the same day, in which she said:

"M. Munter, the Latvian Minister, will sign an agreement with Germany without delay, and inspired by Germany, energetically refuses to accept the help of the Soviets, or even of France and England."

Once more, it is Madame Tabouis who has spoken. Everyone agrees that what she says could not be more disagreeable, but she is right all the same. M. Péri, blinded by his love of Moscow, forgets that the Balts, with whom German influence was always very great, won their independence not from Germany, but from Russia. Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia used to be Russian provinces, and they constituted, together with Finland, Russia's balcony on the Baltic. I do not say that the Russia of the Soviets has not in good faith renounced all ideas of a return to Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, but I do say that a certain number of Finns, Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians remember Russian domination and do not want any more of it at any price; they would willingly throw themselves into anybody's arms, even into Germany's, to avoid it.

This fear has a social character, but it has also a national character. I agree that in the Baltic countries it is above all the anti-communist sections which are on their guard against Russia, but anti-Bolshevism is not the only element in their fear. M. Péri knows better than anyone that when General Mannerheim kicked the Russian and Finnish Bolsheviks out of Finland, he did it—it was long before Herr Hitler came to power—with the support of the German General von der Goltz and German volunteers.

The truth is that Finland, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania are in the same position as Poland and Rumania. They are a chain of nations which are unfortunately placed between Germany and Russia, and which have always suffered for their situation. For Germany marches towards the east, and Russia—even under Lenin in 1920—has always marched towards the west. That is to say, these six powers, of which four have once been entirely conquered by the Russians, Poland to the extent of three-quarters of her territory, and Rumania in Bessarabia, will endeavour right up to the last minute to avoid delivering themselves completely into the power either of Berlin or of Moscow. When things become impossible and it is necessary to make a choice, they will make their choice, for the worst that could happen to them would be a German-Russian alliance; but they will make that choice without enthusiasm and will not lose their natural distrust for their temporary ally.

The Helpless Six Million

Poland and Rumania are special cases; one might say that these two States appear to be too important to have much fear from the U.S.S.R. Logically, at the present time their fear of Germany ought to carry the day. As for Finland, she is situated very much to one side, and Russia has no great interest in ever laying hands upon her. Besides, Finland is part of the Scandinavian group. But the three unhappy little Baltic States, which together can muster six million inhabitants, and which together could not stand up against three German Army corps, or three Russian Army corps either—their anguish can be imagined. They realise very clearly that they (and Finland also for that matter) have every chance of becoming the Russo-German battlefield. A false step on their part, and the match would be put to the powder. Now whatever the result of the Russo-German conflict, they know that in the end they

could not fail to become either three German protectorates or three Soviet republics dependent on the U.S.S.R.

It is from this point of view that one should read with attention the following interview given to *The Baltic Times* by M. Selter, the Estonian Foreign Minister:

> As to the question whether it is true that Russia has latterly informed the Governments of the Baltic States that any German move against those States would be considered by Moscow as an attack on Russia, who in such a case would contemplate partial occupation of the territory of these countries, the Minister replied in the negative sense, adding that such a threat would mean nothing but Russia's desire to share out the Baltic States with Germany. Replying to a question concerning an article which had appeared in the Finnish Press, the Minister went on:
>
> "We have read in the newspapers that Soviet Russia has proposed to defend Estonia, Finland and Latvia against any aggression. The Estonian Government has never envisaged the possibility of such an assistance pact either with Russia, with another great Power in the region of the Baltic, or with a group of great Powers. Public opinion in Estonia does not admit that a neutral State can sign such pacts. In a case of danger, it would be possible to accept the assistance of a great Power which had respected Estonia's neutrality and whose good faith could not be doubted. At the same time the nature of such assistance could only be defined if aggression had actually taken place. If, on the contrary, a great Power desired, without our having formulated such a request, to assume the rôle of our defender, whether as representative of a collective system or to defend its vital interests in the Baltic region, there would be reason to consider such assistance as an act of aggression, against which the Baltic States are ready to struggle with all their power."

The Minister ended by insisting on the confidence which Estonia placed in Great Britain. This is clear. If England protects Estonia, the Estonians will be grateful, very grateful. If Russia protects her they will say: "We are swallowed up." This caused the *Temps* to say:

> In London they will examine a formula avoiding the formal inclusion of the Baltic States in a rigid defensive system, but at the same time assuring them, in certain fixed circumstances, of assistance, if assistance were formally requested by the Baltic States themselves. The three little States in the Baltic region would thus remain sole masters of their decision in the case of unprovoked aggression, and their fate would not depend uniquely on a preventive initiative of the Soviet Union.

The whole question lies in that. Let us remember when we speak of the Baltic States, that it is best to argue as if we were living at Kaunas, Riga or Tallinn, rubbing shoulders with pan-Germanism on the one side and pan-Slav Bolshevism on the other, two monsters before whom they have every right to tremble.

SCANDINAVIAN TREASURY

Importance of the Aaland Islands

by LUCIEN ROMIER

From "Figaro," Paris, 6.6.39

Russia, at the League of Nations session in May, refused to agree to the request made by Finland and Sweden that they should fortify the Aaland Islands. Here is the reason why

ON the 27th September last, some hours before Munich, we were on the brink of war. Baltic observers saw this: a German fleet already cruising near the Aaland Islands, a large number of Soviet warships, sighted south-west of Finland, steering towards the Aaland Islands, and 4,000 Finnish soldiers, despatched in haste, beginning to embark to defend these same Aaland Islands.

The first naval battle, had there been war, would undoubtedly have taken place in Finnish waters, at the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia, for the possession of the Aaland archipelago. This fact, more than all diplomatic documents, helps us to get to grips with the Baltic problem.

The Aaland archipelago, which extends over less than 500 square miles, is inhabited by about 30,000 people, fishermen, sailors, farmers and quarrymen, for the most part a very inoffensive lot. It is the least cold of Finnish territories, the only one not covered with snow for at least three months in the year. After prolonged litigation with the Swedes, Finland obtained possession of it by an act of the League of Nations in 1921. Since then, relations having improved between Finland and Sweden, these two countries have seen in the security of the Aaland Islands a common safeguard. The experience of last September could not but drive them to fortify them. They were proceeding to do so when the diplomatic conflict of the Great Powers intervened.

It is a question of one of the key positions of Northern Europe. The strategic importance of the Aaland Islands is familiar to military historians. In particular Napoleon's evidence is quoted: "To take Finland without taking the Aaland Islands on the way is to take a safe without the keys." If the Western Powers guarantee, among other Baltic States, Finland, a country bound to Germany by military memories, they guarantee at the same time the U.S.S.R. against hostile use of the Aaland Islands. A capital advantage for Moscow.

In the case of war, the Baltic Sea would in all probability be closed, in the west on the North Sea, and in the east by Russia. Doubly closed in the west, by England and by Germany. Equally closed in the east, at least if Russia were a belligerent; but closed along what line?

In order to obtain supplies of indispensable minerals, iron and copper, which would come from the north of Scandinavia and Finland, Germany would need to control the approaches and exits of the Gulf of Bothnia. This control would be exercised by means of the Aaland archipelago, naval control of marine transport: air control of rail transport. In the German interest, the "closed" front line would have to be as far as possible to the east, on the line from Aaland to the shores of Finland-Estonia. That front would be just as much offensive as defensive: from it Leningrad and the vital outlet of Northern Russia by rail to Murmansk could be easily threatened by air attacks.

FORECAST FROM SWITZERLAND

"Nebelspalter" Rohrschach

5

Inversely, the situation would become unfavourable to Germany and favourable to Russia if the "closed" front left on its eastern side the Aaland archipelago and the Baltic States. Such a front would remove the danger to Leningrad and to the Murmansk railway. It would place Germany's supplies and sources of minerals from the north in great peril. The German experts themselves recognised and published the fact that Germany, without Scandinavian minerals, would not have been able to hold out till 1918.

Besides, the Germano-Russian problem of the Baltic is tied up with the problem of the Black Sea. Germany would not threaten Russia effectively from the south except by making play with Russia's great weakness, the inadequacy of fast military and industrial transport, that is to say, by threatening Russia equally from the north, a Japanese threat having created a third call on Russian transport towards Siberia.

IT'S A PITY

The First German Presbyterian Church of Orange, N.J., has changed its name. "The word 'German' is not very popular with the people here," explains its pastor. Hereafter it will be the William Street Presbyterian Church.

Somehow, we're sorry. We're reminded of the unhappy days when patriotism seemed to demand that German measles should be called "liberty measles," that German silver and German fried potatoes must have other names, that even sauerkraut must be "liberty cabbage." It would be too bad to go through all that again.

For, despite what is being done by the temporary rulers of the German people, the word "German" does not deserve our hatred. It stands for the ancestral country of millions of fine and loyal Americans. It did stand within our memory for a peaceful, friendly nation, rightfully proud of great achievements in science and literature, music and art. And some time it will again.—*"New York World-Telegram."*

BEACHCOMBER CONDUCTS A SURVEY

I hear that the British Institute of Public Opinion has asked 24,381 people what they think of Tabouis.

21 per cent said "No."
18 per cent said "Yes."
19 per cent said "It is a heathen custom not suited to Britons."
7 per cent said "He will beat Farr."
91 per cent said "We ought to guarantee its frontiers at once."
74 per cent said "It's made me much slimmer."
181 per cent said "He's better than Menuhin."
48 per cent said "I am against it. It isn't democratic."—*Beachcomber, "Daily Express."*

LESSER OF TWO EVILS

by PERTINAX

From "L'Ordre," Paris, 4.6.39

POLAND has been given the assurance that the political independence and territorial integrity of Lithuania would be considered as one of her vital interests. But what will become of Estonia and Latvia, the gateways of Russia? Is it certain that they will send the required S.O.S. before it is too late, and that Hachas and Sirovys will not meet to pitch-fork them into a position which will result in capitulation pure and simple? These two states are to Russia what the Netherlands have always been to France and England, who never hesitated to enter their territory when they thought it advantageous. Russia claims, in practice, a sort of right to intervene. It may take the form of unfriendly measures and Russo-Polish co-operation might be damaged by it.

But if we put this danger, which is confined to the Baltic, into the scales with the European danger which would result from a check in the negotiations with Moscow now under way, we can scarcely hesitate. We are forced to take every possible precaution, but in the end we shall choose the lesser of two evils.

BRITAIN'S RAW MATERIAL SUPREMACY

The British Empire alone produces a quarter of the world's wheat—a large surplus over its own requirements—and has already gathered large stocks of war reserves. We have half the total head of cattle in the world; more than a third of the sheep. We produce almost half the world's supplies of wool, necessary in a hundred ways for war. Of rubber nearly sixty per cent of the world's supplies is grown on British territory, principally in Malaya; and outside the Empire the chief sources are the Dutch East Indies and Brazil. In minerals the Empire produces 80 per cent of the world's supply of nickel (essential for munitions), 80 per cent of tin, a large surplus of manganese (again essential for munitions), 56 per cent of asbestos. Of iron ore we produce all that we need except for 5,000,000 tons a year that comes from Norway and Sweden and that ought to come from Spain (hence the German activity in north-western Spain). All these are our own resources, quite apart from the sales we are certain to get from America and the Southern American Republics.—*A.B.C., "National Review," London.*

SYNONYMS

There is said to be a tribe of aborigines in Brazil which has one word meaning alternatively "all of us" or "good," and another meaning "all the others" or "bad."—*E. H. Carr, "The Fortnightly," London.*

DIARY OF A PACT

by JULES RIVER

From "Le Canard Enchainé," Paris

The vicissitudes of the Anglo-Franco-Russian pact negotiations inspire the famous Paris satirical weekly to this little flight of fancy, which is not very far from the facts, as all who have followed the daily press during the last few weeks will recognise

Monday

The experts of the Foreign Office and the Quai d'Orsay worked yesterday in an atmosphere of optimism on counter-proposals from Moscow for the Anglo-Franco-Russian Pact. Newspapers emphasise the real progress achieved in the Russian Army as regards material, strategy and discipline. The Russian Army is one of the finest in Europe.

Tuesday

Moscow counter-proposals have been made the subject of Franco-British counter-counter-proposals, which have endangered the conclusion of the Pact. The atmosphere in Moscow is frankly pessimistic. The conversations are on the point of being broken off.

The Paris newspapers rightly remark that the Bolshevik army is one of the poorest in Europe. To ally oneself with Stalin is to weaken onself. It would be a mistake which we shall not commit.

Wednesday

The Franco-British counter-proposals have been the subject, in Moscow, of fresh counter-proposals which form the basis of an interesting exchange of views. The desire to reach an agreement is manifest. There is talk of the Pact's being concluded to-morrow. Russia will guarantee the integrity of Holland while we Franco-British will guarantee the integrity of Lithuania.

The newspapers draw special attention to the inexhaustible economic resources of Russia and to its powerful air force. The days of Kronstadt are recalled with emotion.

Thursday

A set-back has occurred in the negotiations between Moscow and Paris-London. Stalin is now demanding that we shall guarantee the territorial integrity of Finland, in exchange for his support for our possible help to Portugal, which, furthermore, is not anxious for us to

protect her. There is perceptible coolness in the conversations. Rupture is imminent.

The newspapers are rightly recalling that, since Stalin has had no less than 230 marshals and 800 generals shot, the Red Army is completely disorganised. It would not hold out a week. It is stated, moreover, that they continue to be fed on baby-flesh in Communist barracks, a bread supply being completely lacking.

Friday

Negotiations are proceeding very well. We are abandoning Portugal, Russia is abandoning Finland, and we are jointly guaranteeing the Republic of San Marino. Everything is settled. The Pact will be signed to-morrow.

The newspapers insist on the strength of the Russian Army, which is one of the best in Europe and which, having been freed from troublesome elements at its head, is now perfectly united. To ally ourselves with Russia is to strengthen ourselves.

Saturday

Rien ne va plus. The Moscow Government having refused to take Baluchistan under its protection, the Foreign Office and the Quai d'Orsay have declared that they must adopt an attitude of reserve as regards the fate of Lapland. Thereupon, the Moscow Government, going back on its word once more, has begun talking of dropping Holland. Under these circumstances conversations are about to cease. No Anglo-Franco-Russian Pact.

The newspapers announce that the Bolshevik districts round Leningrad are being ravaged by Commissars who burn the harvests and nationalise the women. What's more, the Red Army's shells are all duds.

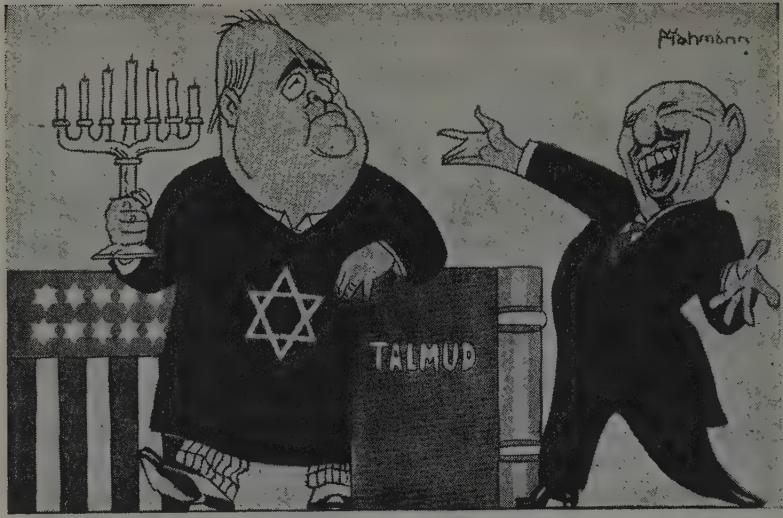
Sunday

Everything is fixed. The Pact will be signed to-morrow. Russia has agreed, without *quid pro quo,* to guarantee the territorial integrity of Monomatapa.

The newspapers, etc., etc. . . .

ALL IN GOOD TIME

To please a child with Shakespeare is perhaps the actor's acid test. If so, Mr. Gielgud has failed. But he is young yet, as the Welshman said when an Englishman protested that Mr. Lloyd George was not God Almighty.—*Four Winds, "Time and Tide," London.*



"Kladderadatsch" A NAZI VIEW OF MR. ROOSEVELT *Berlin*

"Reichswart" WHO WILL SUCCEED IN CATCHING WHOM? *Berlin*

THESE ARE POLAND'S RIGHTS IN DANZIG

The following is a summary of Poland's rights and privileges in the Free City of Danzig, issued by the Polish Information Bulletin of Washington, U.S.A. An increase in the number of Polish Customs Inspectors, it may be noted, is one of the recent grievances of the Germans

1. The Free City is incorporated in the Polish customs area. This should not be confused with a customs union. The Free City forms a part of the Poland's customs area and is bound by Polish customs legislation. ,

However, the Free City of Danzig constitutes an administrative customs district staffed with Danzig officials under the general supervision of Poland's Central Administration of Customs. The Danzig Customs House is a normal unit in the Polish Customs Administration. Supervision is exercised by Polish Inspectors residing in Danzig. The Danzig Customs House submits all its accounts to the Polish Administration and is responsible for the levy of duties and for the performance of all Polish customs regulations. Its expenditure is deducted from the total revenue. In addition, the Free City receives a certain percentage of all Polish customs revenues.

2. Standard gauge railroads within the territory of the Free City are the property of Poland and are administered by the Polish Railroad Administration. That part of the railroad which serves exclusively the harbour is the property of the Council of the Port and Waterways but is administered and exploited by the Polish Railroad Administration.

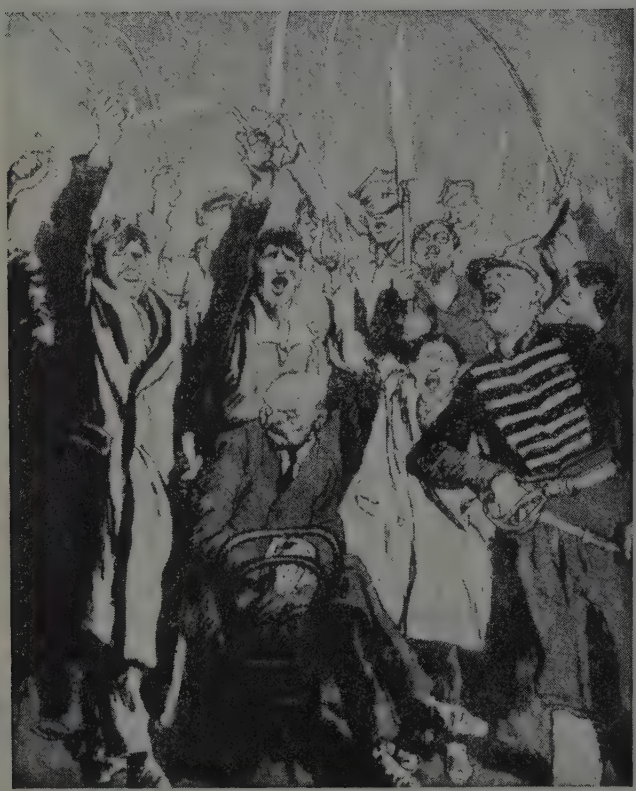
3. Within the Free City, Poland is entitled to maintain its own postal service for direct postal, telephonic and telegraphic communications between the Harbour and Poland and between Poland and foreign countries. Within the established harbour zone Poland maintains a regular postal service including its own mail boxes.

4. The administration of the Danzig Harbour and Waterways is conducted by the Council of the Port, the personnel of which should be composed half of Polish and half of Danzig nationals. At present only 41 per cent of the personnel is Polish. The same principle applies to labourers in the port. The percentage of Poles among the labourers

is still smaller. The Harbour Police appointed by the Council of the Port consists in equal numbers of Poles and Danzigers. The principal duty of the Port Council is to assure Poland the free utilisation of the Danzig Harbour. Profits and losses of the Port are divided equally between Poland and Danzig. Expenses for harbour improvements, etc., are similarly shared.

5. Poland conducts the foreign affairs of Danzig and is charged with the protection of Danzigers abroad.

6. As regards the position of the Polish population in Danzig no discrimination whatever is permitted the Danzig authorities. Special



POLISH STUDENTS

"The whole world belongs to us! It lies between two Poles!"

"Simplicissimus" Munich

conventions guarantee the access of Polish children to Polish schools, both private and public, and the right of the free use of Polish language in administrative offices and courts of justice. The Polish population is guaranteed the right of association and of free cultural development.

7. Poland has the right to import munitions of war through the Free City. For the purpose of storing such munitions the Westerplatte peninsula was placed at Poland's disposal. Poland has the right to maintain a military detachment in Westerplatte.

8. Polish war vessels have the right of anchorage in the Harbour. This right is established by a special convention.

9. Prior to 1935 payments in Customs Houses and Railroads could be made either in Danzig guldens or Polish zlotys. Since the devaluation of the gulden in 1935 such payments can be effected in zlotys only.

10. The circulation of persons and goods between the Free City and Poland cannot be restricted. The citizens of both Poland and Danzig enjoy the same commercial and industrial rights respectively. Navigation on Polish and Danzig waterways is free for vessels of either side.

11. The Danzig shipyards are owned jointly by Poland and Danzig. The same applies to the railroad shops in Troyle. An English-French-Polish-Danzig corporation is the lessee of the shipyards. The shares of Poland and Danzig in the corporation amount to 20 per cent each.

12. In the division between Poland and Danzig of the former German property, the Danzig Technical School was awarded to Danzig on condition of equality of treatment for students of Polish nationality.

13. Poland has the right to register vessels under the Polish flag in the Polish Merchant Marine Office in the Free City.

14. The Free City cannot issue foreign loans without Poland's prior approval.

15. Danzig cannot manufacture or import arms or munitions. It cannot have its own armed forces or build fortifications. The Free City is a demilitarised territory.

16. In the bank of Danzig the participation of Polish banks is fixed at 25 per cent. This can be raised to 30 per cent.

17. A Chamber of Commerce for International Trade was established in 1934 for the purpose of representing Danzig commercial interests. A representative of Poland is a member of the Governing Board and has an equal vote in all matters affecting the Chamber.

INSIDE GERMANY

THE OPPOSITION GROWS

By a correspondent of the "Weltwoche," Zürich, 9.6.39

The German's inborn encirclement and blockade phobia, fed by propaganda, is re-uniting the people behind Hitler on foreign policy. Nevertheless, other observers would endorse all that this Swiss journalist reports of bitter shame and anger felt by the Führer's subjects at many of the Nazi Party's deeds at home

I had practically the same experience on my tour of Germany as that of the famous Munich comedian, Weiss Ferdl—I kept on meeting the 2 per cent who voted "No" at the last plebiscite.*

Shortly before my return I had a conversation with a calm, clever man, an old soldier of the last war, a journalist and an author, who still travels about now and again and has very good connections.

"The line of opposition," he said, "passes vertically, not horizontally, through the entire nation; it is not confined, for instance, to intellectual circles, but is constantly growing among the working classes in particular. In spite of the elimination of unemployment and their perhaps improved financial position, the workers are showing ever more clearly that material advantages cannot blind them to the loss of spiritual values. Personal freedom and working freedom are still important to them; they have lost both completely. It is often really astonishing how openly the workers display their discontent, one might say at the risk of their lives.

"There is to-day only a very thin layer behind Hitler, which owes him everything and is completely bound to him for weal or woe. It consists of some particularly successful business men who are riding the economic boom, and of the entire S.S. Anyone belonging to the latter knows all too well that he would be torn to pieces by the people should the change once come. I should estimate that this layer comprises about three million people. Then comes the great mass of undecided "flotsam." And then the constantly increasing circles of the decided opposition. If we were given the chance of holding a plebiscite on any question other than a direct, vital national interest, and accompanied by even a small degree of propaganda freedom, it is certain that a big majority to-day would vote against Hitler.

* *"Only 2% voted 'No' at the last plebiscite, but the funny thing is, wherever I go I keep on meeting the 2%." This was one of the cracks which the enormously popular Weiss Ferdl made before Dr. Goebbels put a muzzle on him.*

"I know that it is incomprehensible for a foreigner how a government can maintain itself on such a basis. Our people are often regarded with pity or contempt, not altogether unjustly, I suppose, for allowing themselves to be so oppressed. We must somehow pull through this ordeal. It won't last for ever, believe me. Furthermore, the power of the Terror is underestimated abroad. People are beheaded ruthlessly in Germany. There can be no contact between one city and another. But one thing you can take from me as certain—there is to-day an immense and unbridgeable gulf between people and government. What's more, confidence in the leadership is still further decreasing daily. You must really nowadays no longer identify the government with the people. In reality we have disapproved of our government's deeds for a long time now. We are ashamed. But we must wait. There are still people with the idea that after an overthrow of the present Government, Bolshevism would come. What nonsense—we have already got Bolshevism and we know it—we certainly do not want any second brand."

"Candide" "LA PRIMAVERA" BY BRAUCHITSCHELLI *Paris*

(General Brauchitsch, German Commander-in-Chief, went to Italy to arrange the strengthening of the Italian Army by Germans.)

DROP THE ECONOMIC WEAPON!

The Condition for a Conference

From the "Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung," Essen, 2.6.39

DO the military-diplomatic moves of the Western Powers, and the German-Italian Alliance, represent the last stadium prior to a war, or to a peace conference? Are the Western Powers in a position to offer any positive contribution to peace? Germany has postulated the security of her living-space; she was obliged to make this condition, in view of the fact that the war of 1914 was fought with economic weapons with the aim of starving out the German people. The position is not much changed to-day. The most recent proof of this is supplied by the sanctions war waged by Eden and Blum against Italy. *We believe that appeasement negotiations will only offer chances of success, if world trade and economics are banished from the military concepts of the Western Powers.*

When we recently concluded the trade treaty with Rumania, curses and threats rose to heaven from the West. It was stated, no more and no less, that Rumania, by this treaty, was arming Germany. The United States could think of nothing better to do than to impose economic sanctions, in order to injure us politically—although we have not yet occupied Chicago. As long as we are attacked by economic means in peace and in war, and as long as Germany's economic dependence is regarded as a weapon of war, the attempt is made to "keep great nations in dependence and subjection."

It cannot be assumed without further ado that the Anglo-Saxons and French will renounce economic war and economic diplomacy against Germany and Italy. It is indeed from their point of view the best and most humane method of warfare—humane for them, of course, not for us, as the mortality rates during the hunger blockade showed. The expression, "securing Germany's living space" was of necessity invented the moment the hunger blockade and sanctions war were invented. And no pact-therapy can help against this elementary necessity of a great nation.

As conscientious chroniclers we can only record that the problem of war or peace, Europe or chaos, depends upon timely and complete

clarification of ideas. The little tricks and word-twisting of Geneva and its days are no good any longer. We have said, we believe, everything we have to say, while the statesmen of the Western Powers have still not said some things they ought to say. Not that there has been any lack of speeches on high days and holidays, and every day of the week. The proposals we expect to come from the Western Powers; if they do not come, neither does peace in Europe.

SURE, WE SEE

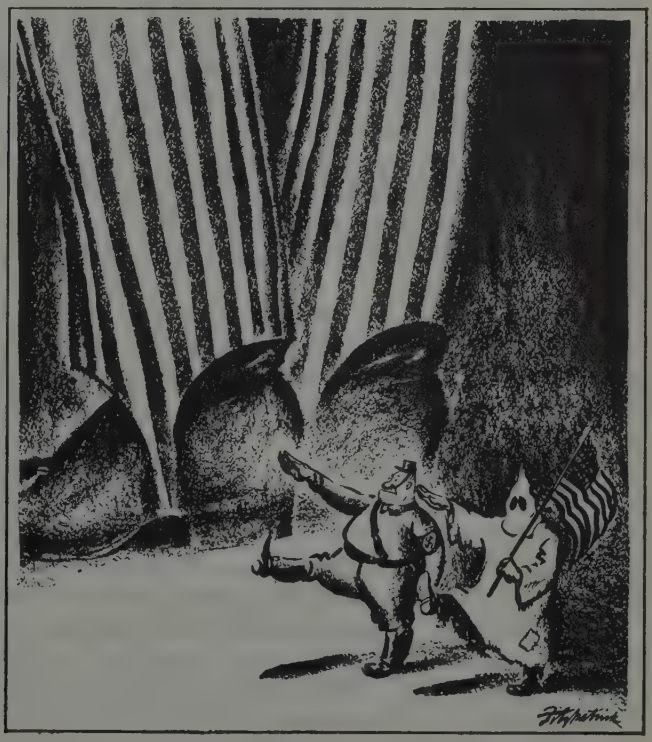
But now the time has come to leave the marriage bureau, as we have a lot of shopping to do. I tell you that deliberately, in case you have been holding back yourself, because of you-know-what, brooding over the horizon.

Well, that is not only bad luck for the shops, it's bad luck for yourself. Every time you acquire a peace luxury you strike a blow against the dictators.

Do you see what I am driving at?—*Godfrey Winn, "Sunday Express,"*

IN THE U.S.A.

The Ku-Klux-Klan and German Bund Axis.



"St. Louis Post-Dispatch"

GERMAN DEFENCE POLICY
Harder Blow v. Longer Wind

Following are excerpts from a new publication entitled "Wehrpolitik" (Defence Policy), by Lt.-Gen. Horst von Metzsch, published by the Research Department of the Political High School, Berlin

DEFENCE policy must not be concerned with increasing only the number of the people. It must also aim at augmenting the worth of the people. We Germans cannot hope ever to appear in superior numbers on the battlefield. We shall always be compelled to tackle stronger forces. Thus we can do nothing but oppose them by superiority in worth. . . .

* * * * *

In the near future, Germany will be unable to conduct any war except a war in self-defence. Of course, attempts will be made to brand Germany as an aggressor. . . . Needless to say, he who has the might has the right. But now that the victors have more than once stated officially that this or that point in the Versailles settlement was an injustice to us Germans, while no efforts were made to remove the injustice, now every German war will mean the recovery of publicly-recognised German rights. It will be, therefore, every time, a war in self-defence.

Versailles is, and remains, equivalent to an attack on Germany. Shaking off this fraudulent yoke is, and remains, self-defence. If it were Germany's intention to start attacks anywhere, every one of them would be provoked. There simply cannot be any unprovoked German attack. . . . The fact is, that the foundations of the Versailles arrangements around Germany constitute an aggression. Czecho-Slovakia for example, as a new creation, was distinctly directed against Germany. Poland's western frontier is consciously intended as a painful wound. Eupen is to be the entrance into Germany, for a Belgium not quite so neutral as at the moment. Strasburg has always been, in French eyes, a breach in the German frontier. As for the Brenner Pass, though it no longer divides in a hostile sense, yet its origin is based, too, on the idea of securing easier access to Germany, and warding off Germany more easily than would be possible from the Italian plains.

The business of German defence policy is to counter a hopeless economic war by superior striking force. There is no other way for us Germans in war. . . . The big naval powers will contrive to concentrate on the economic war. With maritime powers taking part in a war, one will have to be prepared for a prolonged period of warfare. Naval warfare always is long-term warfare. The vast stretches of the ocean admit of no swift blows. As matters stand at the moment, Germany cannot oppose a superior counterweight to the Anglo-French naval forces. She must seek her military superiority on the mainland.

The *ideal* of defence economy is to be independent of the outside world through agricultural and industrial self-sufficiency. But the *reality* of defence economy, for the time being, does not, or not yet, permit us Germans to come nearer to this ideal. Defence economy must, therefore, seek to remedy this state by securing supplies. This is, from the defence point of view, the meaning of the Four Year Plan, which is, in fact, nothing but a plan of defence policy.

Decision by arms is the supreme law of every war. If we do not succeed there, we Germans shall lose every war. Nowhere but in the *harder blow* can lie our salvation, never in the *longer wind.*

It is quite possible that some cultural circles will indulge in certain considerations such as are fostered by the Red Cross. But that sort of thing must be disregarded in the face of considerations of final success. It is of the nature of war that *everything* must be made subservient to final success.

Civil Resistance to Air Attack

Purely material destruction alone can never secure a decision. There has not been in post-War Europe any notable practical war experience on a large scale. The Far-Eastern experience cannot be accepted without reserve. The Spanish experience is on a small scale, nor were final results gained from the Italo-Abyssinian war, and Great War experience is now obsolete. Nevertheless, it may now be stated as a fact that the power of moral resistance on the part of the civil population against air attack as a rule reaches a surprisingly high level. . . . Any increase in arms will sooner or later meet with an increased will to a successful resistance.

Our political territory (*Wohnraum*) lacks adequate agricultural produce, our economic living space (*Lebensraum*) is without complete

military protection. German defence policy will therefore have to remove these deficiencies. The more we in war depend on a territory endangered from the point of view of world economy, the more jeopardised will be the food supply to the struggling nation. Our naval forces will be able to reduce these dangers, but they cannot remove them, not even if we possessed colonies. Colonies only widen the living space (*Lebensraum*). They do not widen the defence space (*Wehrraum*). Defence space implies security, which is available on land, but doubtful as far as overseas trade is concerned. Nor is German strength alone likely to achieve anything beyond that.

Morals and Minorities

Special interest attaches to the armies of the Nationality States. As long as such a state regards itself as the trustee of all its component nationalities, its defence forces may have a considerable striking power, e.g., in Switzerland, or in a truly neutral Belgium. Where, however, the defence forces of a Nationality State are used for turning a trustee into an oppressor, minorities into inferior classes, there can be no recognition of any moral right.

ABSENT-MINDED EMPIRE BUILDING

The gibe as to absent-minded British additions to the Empire appeared at first to have some truth in it when we came across this item in the *Chronicle* of forty years ago :—

> Owing to unforeseen circumstances, the British flag has been hoisted at Taipohu to-day. By order, J. H. Stewart Lockhart, Colonial Secretary, Hongkong, 16th April, 1899.

But apparently the taking over of the New Territory was not quite as crude as all that. Formal occupation had been arranged with the Chinese authorities, and it was when "rebel bands" objected, opening fire on police and others who were preparing for the great day, that it was decided to dispense with ceremony and get the annexation over with. All ended well, however, except for those who were shot.—*"Japan Chronicle," Kobe.*

FOR MORAL REARMAMENT

As an indication that, in spite of everything, we are carrying on in the good old invincible British way, nothing could be more convincing than the recipe for Ratafia de Cassis given in the Home Page of *The Times.* After calling for five pints of ripe black currants and sundry other ingredients, it says, with characteristic British phlegm : "Let it stand for an hour, then pour in a gallon of brandy."—*"Crown Colonist," London.*

CANADA BETWEEN TWO WORLDS
Drawing Towards the U.S.A.

by JOHN MACCORMAC

From the "New York Times Magazine"

CANADA has been trying to find out just how British she is and would like to be. The kingly person of George VI now represents the sole constitutional link binding together the dominions and republics which comprise the British Commonwealth of Nations, and Canada has been asking herself whether she desires to be an integral part of that Commonwealth or an autonomous North American nation. She has been unable to give a decisive answer.

It is safe to say that after his visit to Canada, the King will carry back to England a new conception of the complications of his high office. It is hard to see how he can adequately represent all his subjects without risking that mental disjunction for which the Greeks had a word—schizophrenia.

He will find himself obliged as King of Canada to be a little non-committal and aloof with himself as King of England. For he will have travelled a country whose Prime Minister refuses to commit it in advance to support British policies and asserts the right of Canada's Parliament to decide whether she is going to war if Britain goes to war, yet asserts that if war breaks out Canada cannot remain neutral.

He will have talked with French-Canadians opposed to any participation in European conflicts, with some English-Canadians more eager to fight for England than his own English subjects, with a growing number of others convinced that this Dominion should be free to seek its destiny in North America in close association with the United States and other nations of this hemisphere.

* * * * *

With the people of Canada so divided, it is little wonder that her leaders have chosen to compromise and that this vast, sparsely inhabited land, whose austere acres span a continent, has tried to span an ocean as well and have the best, not of one world, but of two. Canada has sought at once to be both British and American. Yet the position is uncomfortable.

Canada's economy, at least in theory, has been based on an eastward movement of harvests, a westward flow of men. But now her wheat flows east in ever-decreasing quantities, she gains no new citizens from Europe and, like a top slowing down, she threatens to lose her equilibrium.

Economically, Canada is so close to the United States that her prosperity is almost a function of the state of American business. Gold included, 41 per cent of her exports go southward, compared with 38 per cent to Britain, and 58 per cent of her imports come from the United States, compared with 18 from the mother country. The United States has four billion dollars invested in Canada, and England has less than three billion dollars so invested. Twelve hundred Canadian companies are controlled by or affiliated with American firms, and almost a quarter of Canadian manufacturing is done by them.

Canada's policy of playing off England against the United States and the United States against England has gained for her a measure of political and economic independence. But it has left Canadians one of the most artificial and complicated nationalities in the world.

It seemed during the World War that Canada had at least achieved a Canadian consciousness. But its dawning light has lately been obscured by the mists of division. Seldom has the country been less united than now.

Since Canada, after practising a policy which maintained her political centre of gravity in Europe while her economic centre stubbornly maintained itself in North America, finds herself still thinly populated and dangerously divided, a new orientation of policy seems imperative. The tendency of it is to obey the well-known injunction "Be yourself," which, in Canada's case, would seem to mean, "Be more North American." North Americanism does not, however, mean annexation to the United States.

What North Americanism would mean would be a close alignment with United States policies. As individuals, Canadians and Americans are already very alike, and recently they have tended to react similarly in the mass toward world affairs.

* * * * *

Some factors have kept Canada and the United States apart. But the forces drawing them together are now almost irresistible, the more so because the United States has assumed the new and reassuring rôle of

good neighbour. The Ottawa agreements of 1932 were a last attempt by R. B. Bennett to remake the Empire nearer to Canada's desire. The American trade treaty of 1939, on the other hand, was an economic move toward North Americanism.

If there is another general war in Europe, Canada, despite the present reluctance of perhaps half her citizens, will undoubtedly be in it on the side of Britain. But full participation is recognised as an impossibility if her unity, severely strained in the last war, is to survive. Her business and social leaders are imperialistic almost to a man.

On the other hand, her French-Canadian citizens would probably welcome an assertion of the right to full neutrality, even if it meant leaving the Empire. So would many of her English-speaking intelligentsia, who urge that as matters stand Canada is "again merely a colony of Britain."

In the circumstances, the advantages of a North American policy for Canada are growing steadily more apparent. Close Anglo-American co-operation in peace and war would simplify her problem. Failing such development, the drift is toward North Americanism by way of neutrality.

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"Now, follow me closely: suppose you are Hitler. You have taken Austria and Czechoslovakia. I am Mussolini, and I have just taken Albania. Now what will you take?"
"Me? A pint of bitter."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We welcome correspondence, which should be kept as brief as possible.

NO SURRENDER

SIR,—Mr. Philby's letter in your June issue, coming from so distinguished a source, should receive respect, though some will find this hard to accord. He suggests handing everything he wants to Herr Hitler at a Peace Conference, surrendering every strategic point that has been won by blood, sweat or negotiation over past centuries, and putting trust in the idea that he is a man of fundamental good-will. It seems altogether too innocent a plan. Germany fought one war to gain such advantages as he would offer freely: she is being bullied from inside into fighting another. Yet, reading their history, many thousands, possibly millions of people thought that the Germans would make such ill use of world power that they were prepared to fight and, indeed, die, rather than that the Germans should possess it. Hitler's expressed aims, and the brutality of his government, have proved that they were right, and there are still democrats who would fight to scotch (once again) the boring and pig-headed spirit of Prussian militancy rather than prepare to see its spirit contaminating every highway and artery of the world.

MARTIN WILSON.

London, W.C.2.

AMERICAN ANGLE

SIR,—The odds in America still are that Mr. Chamberlain who manages, against all precedent as I understand it, to stay in with his government after destroying British prestige and imperilling the Empire at Munich, will so contrive that Poland will go the way of Czecho-Slovakia.

It is common knowledge here that Roosevelt sees red whenever Chamberlain is mentioned. Roosevelt is dead opposed to Hitler, and while under Catholic influence he's been rather quiescent about Mussolini—which accounts for our backing Chamberlain's hand in Spain, and Roosevelt's obduracy in the face of Liberal efforts to lift the embargo which operated against Republican Spain—he has about-faced on Mussolini since his peace efforts met such Fascist criticism.

By latest accounts in American papers from Paris, Mr. Chamberlain still fancies he can wean Mussolini away from Hitler. Pertinax gives this fallacious thinking as reason for Chamberlain's deliberate delay in taking desperate chances with Russia. One finds difficulty in imagining why even the Tory Party, in the face of polls showing the change in British sentiment, still clings to Chamberlain, Sir John Simon and Sir Samuel Hoare.

Had Sir John Simon agreed to take joint action with America, as suggested by Secretary of State Stimson, when Japan marched on Manchuria the concensus of informed opinion holds there would have been no such situation of crisis after crisis in Asia and Europe as has occurred since then.

Despite all you may hear or see in our papers, or the guesses of American commentators, Britain and France will find full flow of American economic support from the beginning; and should things begin to look badly then we'll go the limit. We will not let France and Poland down, out of sentiment for their assistance in our Revolution. And the day will never dawn when we'll stand passive while the mother country goes down before any other race. The descendants

of the founding fathers still rule America; and none know it better than the Borahs and their ilk in Congress.

E. M. G.

Raleigh, N.C.

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SIR,—Sir Theophilus Shepstone was sent by the British Government in the Cape Colony to annex the South African Republic. There was no plebiscite and on this followed a war that has not yet been surpassed in cruelty, especially towards the women and children.

Few people know what really happened. At Meerbank, I have been told by people who were sent there, poison was put into the food to kill the poor women and children who had been driven from their homes.

To-day England is the champion of so-called Democracy. I think England has no right to say a word.

If you do not print this letter—I doubt if you have the honesty to do so—I would like to hear your opinion on the matter.

(Miss) M. J. MEYER.

Kingsley, Natal.

ENGLAND

(September 1938—June 1939.)

England, beloved England, slow moving in Thy ways,
For many months now hoping the dawn of better days,
Hoping though scarce believing, with no ignoble fear—
Thy sons have ceased from doubting, again their path is clear.

We grasp the nettle danger, and it shall sting no more;
We face a deadly peril, as oft we did of yore;
The great Crusades are calling, the greatest now is nigh;
In every heart of England, naught lives if Freedom die.

For England in her greatness, the fulness of her pride,
An Empire tells the story of those who lived and died;
Not arrogant or boastful, we give again to Thee
Our youth and life and fortune; that England may be free.

ANON.

"Sydney Bulletin" *Australia*

"Yairs, mister, Ma's a marvel. Wish I 'ad a few more like 'er."

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

NAVIES AND POWER

UNEASY OCEANS. By Lt.-Cmr. Kenneth Edwards, R.N. *Routledge.* 15*s.*

Reviewed by VICE-ADMIRAL C. V. USBORNE, C.B., C.M.G.*

IN this work Kenneth Edwards reviews, *in extenso,* the world naval situation of to-day. He does this carefully and methodically, starting by tracing the events which led to the Washington Conference with its resulting period of disarmament and scrapping, the naval treaties of 1930, '35 and '36, Germany's re-armament and the sudden naval awakening which stirred Britain to the unprecedented naval effort now in progress.

He goes on to consider the fleets of each nation in turn, and the strategic problems that inspire them. He shows where these strategies clash, and examines the possibilities of war in the Mediterranean, the North Sea, the Baltic and the Far East. Finally he considers World War and what it would mean, ending on a hopeful note in that very soon the navies of the democratic Powers will be so strong that the aggressive Powers will be unlikely to provoke it.

"The period during which these steps are coming to fruition," he says, "is a danger period for the world." This danger period, of course, is precisely *now.* His last paragraph is used to observe, with what truth still remains to be seen, that President Roosevelt's peace proposals, combined with his action in sending the American Fleet back to the Pacific, may well go down to history as a marking-point of the world.

The turning-point is strong language for the truth is that the world is always turning, and hardly a day passes without some event whose influence is so far-reaching that it may be dubbed a turning-point.

The author's knowledge of naval matters is very complete, and his thought on problems on the future both penetrating and sympathetic. If he is always on the side of Britain this does not prevent him from seeing truly the viewpoint of each country he examines.

Naval students will find his book a refreshing reminder of recent history which they may have forgotten, and a stimulating pointer to the future. Inevitably, where the same facts are reviewed in different aspects we get a certain repetition, but this is perhaps advantageous for those, and there will be many such, who will study each chapter as a complete and separate whole.

It is impossible in a short review to mention a tithe of the good things to be found here. One is the conviction that German strategy in the next war will be one of attack on British maritime trade

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by all available resources, surface as well as submarine, and that this may place us in a difficulty regarding convoy.

Another is the forecast that the Axis cannot endure once Germany gets a foothold in the Eastern Mediterranean, for she could never tolerate the Italian stranglehold in the central narrows. Unlike many writers on naval strategy, Lieut.-Commander Edwards finds the United States fully justified strategically in her determination to maintain a great Navy, despite her absence of overseas possessions.

As is inevitable to-day, where events follow one another faster than books can be written, some more recent happenings are unchronicled. For example, the Italian-German alliance, and the non-aggression pacts in the Baltic escape these very encompassing tentacles. But the book hardly suffers from this and should be in the library of those who seek to comprehend current affairs.

I close with a significant quotation. "It is the great maritime trading nations who now hold the colonies, and it is too much to ask of them that they should provide overseas bases for a nation with apparently unbounded ambition and a Navy, the almost openly avowed intention of which is the ability to influence world affairs by the threat to the ocean trade routes."

* Admiral Usborne is a former Director of Naval Intelligence.

LAWRENCE AND THE ARAB CAUSE

ORIENTAL ASSEMBLY. By T. E. Lawrence. *Williams and Norgate.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by H. St. J. B. Philby*

Mr. A. W. Lawrence has done well to give us a further instalment of his brother's works. He tells us there is no

more to come—more's the pity for, considering Colonel Lawrence's position in contemporary opinion, it is surely justifiable and, indeed, imperative that all his material should be collected for the benefit of posterity. There are many articles in the newspapers of the period 1919-21, in the Arab Bulletin (still languishing in secrecy) of 1916-19 and elsewhere, which would be at least as well worth republication as the *Round Table* and *Army Quarterly* articles which have been saved from oblivion in this volume. As a writer Lawrence's reputation is secure for all time. As a man he had so many facets that the contemporary judgment cannot shape the final judgment, which must be left to another age with all the relevant material in as complete and convenient a form as possible.

This volume contains but a small number of Lawrence's writings, and some of his friends think that one of them should not have been included in the collection. I am decidedly not of that opinion. It is the book's *pièce de résistance.* It was "suppressed at the time on the advice of Mr. Bernard Shaw, and for political reasons has not since been published." Political reasons have not militated against the very widespread publication of Lawrence's later opinion that Mr. Churchill's Arabian Settlement of 1921 acquitted us fully and honourably of all our promises to the Arabs. Many people, including all the Arabs, dissent very strongly from that opinion and it is only fair to Lawrence's memory to make clear out of his own mouth, as his brother has now done, that he was whole-heartedly with the dissenters until 1921, when he became associated with Mr. Churchill. The settlement of 1921 was in fact a compromise between Lawrence and the Colonial Secretary, under which Lawrence bore off the Mesopotamian crown for his *protégé* and Churchill got Palestine for his friends

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Morris landed in France in 1789. From 1792 to 1794 he was American Minister. He made five visits to England. His diary ends with Louis XVI's execution.

HARRAP

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Coming at a time when the anxious eyes of the world are again turned towards the Balkans, this book is particularly opportune. It clarifies the internal problems of the various Balkan countries in relation to international issues.

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A city, the unique character and life of which was impressed upon its music. Even the streets and houses speak unforgettably of Gluck and Beethoven, Mozart and Schubert and Brahms. For were not some of the most impressive chapters in the history of music written in the palaces, opera houses and concert halls of this once "Gay Vienna"? Was it not here that young men dreamed great dreams and brought them to life in spite of want, enmity and hardship?

For the time being Vienna's cultural life is at an end, and in a sense this book is a requiem for Vienna. The material for it has been collected over a period of years and during a number of lengthy visits to Vienna.

McGRAW-HILL

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and Trans-Jordan for the British Empire, while Syria was sacrificed to the French. Lawrence, it is true, secured payment of part of the bill but had to give a receipt for the whole sum promised. There is no reason to think that his expression (much later) of satisfaction at the bargain was not genuine, but the suppressed chapter makes clear where he stood at the period of his maximum brilliance.

"It was evident from the beginning," he writes "that if we won the war these promises would be dead paper, and had I been an honest adviser of the Arabs I would have advised them to go home and not risk their lives fighting for such stuff: but I salved myself with the hope that, by leading these Arabs madly in the final victory I would establish them, with arms in their hands, in a position so assured (if not dominant) that expediency would counsel to the Great Powers a fair settlement of their claims." He envisaged being "able to defeat not merely the Turks on the battlefield, but my own country and its allies in the council-chamber." That was the real Lawrence as he came out of the ordeal which made him a legend in Europe and America. He may have changed afterwards but he was at the zenith of his powers between 1916 and 1921. In studying him we cannot neglect those years.

By comparison the rest of the volume is of but a secondary importance. The "Evolution of a Revolt" contains much that is very interesting—perhaps a little elusive. There is, I think, evidence to show that the immunity of Madina throughout the war was not, as suggested in this essay, the result of considered strategy. Its capture would have made a bigger noise in the world than the fall of Kut, and its capture was certainly hoped for in those years. It was only afterwards that its successful resistance

was seen to have contributed materially to the success of the Arab Revolt. Lawrence certainly used his camels hard, and it was no doubt necessary to do so, but the reader must not be left to believe, as a general truth, that "in the heat of the summer Arabian camels will do about 250 miles comfortably between drinks . . . three days vigorous marching." Comfortably is certainly not the right word!

I have no space to consider the diary of Lawrence's 1911 journey in northern Syria. On page 36 the editor makes a curious error in equating the year 1236 A.H. with A.D. 1858—it should be 1820-21. In another footnote he describes the *Bamiya* as "a vegetable like a small marrow, the French *courgette*." This doesn't sound right to me. It is at any rate what is called "Lady's fingers" in some places and Bindi in India. But these are slight blemishes in a very welcome volume, which should certainly encourage Mr. A. W. Lawrence to collect and publish some more material.

* Mr. Philby, famous Arabian explorer and friend of King Ibn Sa'ud, was active in another part of Arabia at the same time as Col. Lawrence was leading the revolt in the desert.

BRITAIN'S ACCOMPLICE

FRANCE AND MUNICH, BEFORE AND AFTER THE SURRENDER. By Alexander Werth. *Hamish Hamilton.* 12*s.* 6*d. net.*

Reviewed by HENRY D. DAVRAY*

THIS is a big book, a very brilliant and interesting book—but I feel chary of saying more. It is crammed with facts and dates, all more or less presented as stunts, or as pregnant with omens and portents that did not come true. It is certainly a journalist's book. It keeps marvellously up from beginning to end

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that characteristic pitch of the daily correspondent who knows his *métier* and cables his paper the news that will allow the morning boom to wake up the stolid reader.

I would be just as chary of calling it an authoritative book, and I would warn the "political student" to take good care not to base definite opinions on it. Such a book ought to have its counterpart by a French journalist, as clever, as well-informed, with as much acumen, as Mr. Werth. Reading the one against the other, no conclusion would be possible, and that would be much better for the moral and spiritual health of the public.

France was not alone on the Road to Munich, and in partaking of the humble pie meal. The author explains at length why and how she went. Is he so sure that he makes no mistake? He sees French problems from an angle that is certainly clear, though not unbiased, and it would require a whole volume to refute many of his points. History is already doing it. It is not so simple as all that, and we are not sure at all that we know all the influences at work and the part played by the imponderable and the improbable. France may have made sad mistakes, and Mr. Werth blames her severely. We must not take him too seriously. If there is a conclusion to be drawn from it all, it is that France and Great Britain must keep as united as ever they can against the one enemy of peace. Those who, in France and in Great Britain, assume the parlous responsibility of Government ought to keep in mind the old French proverb: "Oignez vilain, il vous poindra, poignez vilain il vous oindra."

Many years ago, in Paris, at the end of one of those dinners to which he invited many prominent political people irrespective of parties, Sir Charles Dilke was pressing for a firm policy on the part of France:

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ROUTLEDGE

"Never forget," he said, "that a German is a bragging bully, never a gentleman. In talking with him keep quiet, never lose your temper and your manner, but be careful he sees your fist in a position ready to reach his nose . . . and you can go on smiling."

We have been taught that the present leaders of the German masses are no more gentlemen than were the Kaiser and his acolytes. Mr. Werth assumes that Munich has deprived France—and let us say England also, for the matter of that—of the place in Europe she had held for centuries. But the struggle is not at an end. It is too early yet to acclaim the brute triumphant. Let the gentlemen see to it that its reign does not come.

* M. Davray is the London correspondent of a French newspaper.

RECORD OF DISILLUSION

A SINGLE FLAME. By Martin Boyd. *Dent.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by H. I'A. FAUSSET*

MR. BOYD'S gifts as a novelist may well have blinded his readers to the criticism of life implicit in his social and satirical comedy. This autobiography, however, should open their eyes. It is as entertaining and provocative as his novels, but it is also an evaluation of experience.

At bottom his book is a record of disillusionment, which began before he left Australia to fight in the War, but which the war, vividly described, cruelly confirmed and post-war politics, culminating in the Munich surrender, completed. It is not disillusionment with the ordinary man, with whose unpretentious way of life he has a natural sympathy, but with the class who, professing Christian standards of virtue and honour and parading the civilised traditions which appeal so much to himself, have betrayed both.

Mr. Boyd condemns them out of their own mouths. He has had opportunities of mixing with those who enjoy the privileges of place and power, and in his typically laconic way he lets us overhear their remarks. It is possible, of course, that he has been unfortunate in his associates and that the mean class-interest which stultifies both their intelligence and their humanity is not quite so representative as he suggests. Sensitively humane himself, he has been continually shocked by the callousness of apparently decent and civilised people, and one of the problems to which he keeps returning in his book is that of how much brute is necessary in one's make-up. Towards the end this problem becomes for him more than a private one when, in what is perhaps the best, because most passionate, part of his book he expresses the sense of shame and bewilderment felt by so many during last September and asks how brutal force can be met without brutal degradation.

I cannot myself accept the solution Mr. Boyd suggests. The assumption that Nazi Germany consists of potential lunatics whom we in our superior sanity would have to kill and that we could do this killing like Christian gentlemen, abstaining from the worst devilry of modern war and watching for any sign of returning reason in our misguided brothers, seems to me much less in touch with basic reality than the creative pacifism which he rejects on insufficient grounds. But his account of the painful and humiliating dilemma in which our utterly uncreative rulers placed anyone with generous and humane instincts last year compels sympathy and is a record of vivid personal experience.

The conflict, too, which runs through his book between his attachment to traditional culture and his genuine desire to see the end of social and economic injustice is one of universal significance

to-day and his Australian upbringing has only intensified for him the prevalent condition of "wandering between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born." But there is nothing abstract or generalised about his treatment of these themes. His autobiography is full of incident and detail, of persons and places, wittily presented.

* Mr. Fausset is the author of "A Modern Prelude" and critical works on the great poets.

HOPELESS BUT NOT SERIOUS

EUROPE, GOING, GOING, GONE! By Ferdinand Czernin. *Peter Davies.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by HERTHA HAY*

EVER since one crisis started following in the wake of another, political books have been swamping the market and it has become increasingly difficult to pick those which are really worth reading. *Europe, Going, Going, Gone!* is definitely a political book, although it is not like anything we have been used to. It is a hilariously funny book, but never is the reader allowed to forget that it is written about things not only serious but tragic.

Count Czernin's first publication, *This Salzburg,* showed that he could say serious things in a witty and always amusing fashion, and *Europe, Going, Going, Gone!* proves that the loss of his country, the Nazification of his beloved Austria, has not made him lose his sense of humour.

Count Czernin passes review of Europe, troublesome, quarrelsome, tiresome Europe as it is to-day, pokes fun at totalitarian dictators and weak-kneed democracy. Towards the end of the book he grows intense, when he, still amusingly, talks about what he believes

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to be the inevitable clash between totalitarianism and democracy.

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* Lady Hay is herself an Austrian by birth.

AN ARRAIGNMENT

ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT. By Carlo Scarfoglio. *Putnam.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by C. J. S. Sprigge*

Carlo Scarfoglio has composed an indictment of England less savage but more reckless than that which his father, Edoardo, composed in an effort to head off Italy from joining in the Great War on the side of the Allies. He describes himself as a "Continental Analyst" of politics, and gives a display of logical rigour. It is related that once upon a time a logician discovered he could get drunk on brandy and water, on whiskey and water, and on gin and water: he concluded that water, the common factor in these intoxicants, was what got the better of him. Carlo Scarfoglio finds that England was a combatant in a dozen European wars; and concludes, with not much more ado, that England was the tireless wrecker of European peace. At first England's bellicosity was just an outlet for religious passions which had to be diverted, otherwise they would have flamed out in civil struggles: then, says Scarfoglio, the rulers of England got into a regular habit of spying out somebody in the first stages of establishing a hegemony in Europe (Louis XIV, Napoleon, Czar Nicholas, the Kaiser): to frustrate which imaginary peril they involved Europe time and again in Leagues, Coalitions and Alliances, which England financed, and out of which (as the sole permanent consequences of the wars) England acquired more and more colonies, at the expense equally of friends and foes.

This sort of indictment is not so new to English people as Carlo Scarfoglio thinks. "In foreign wars we have been the most aggressive, warlike, and bloody nation under the sun." So wrote Richard Cobden in 1852. But Scarfoglio has a further theory with which this opinion of the Radical Cobden would not fit in. He holds, that from Reformation times until to-day it is the "Left Wingers" (whom he regards as descendants of psalm-singing Presbyterians) who are the war-makers, while the Tories are the peace-makers of England. This cannot be confuted in a paragraph; it is not a wholly baseless contention. But Scarfoglio is so intent on making it a law that he writes (p. 144), "The Tories, much more enlightened and far less hidebound than the Whigs, were all for the (French) Revolution." With such a wild generalisation Scarfoglio dissipates much of the credit he has been building up with serried pages of "chapter and verse." Still, Englishmen will derive benefit from reading the book: they will know what there is to be said against us in the Court of History, and if much of it is forced into an over simple pattern the arraignment is quite good-humoured and excellently composed. A foreigner has also provided the appropriate retorts to the accusation: somewhere between Kantorowicz (*"Der Geist der englischen Politik"*) and Scarfoglio (whose book is also, but in substantially different form, published for Italian readers) the Englishman may hope to pitch upon a measured estimate of his part in the virtuous and criminal proceedings of Europe.

* Mr. Sprigge, who knows Italy intimately, is City Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*.

THE WORLD OF FINANCE

THE ECONOMICS OF ARMAMENTS

by "RAPIER"

While the City of London has become a "Depressed Area," the British provinces are experiencing a vigorous trade revival. If this industrial activity were based upon an expansion of world trade initiated by a general return of confidence it would, of course, be a subject of unreserved congratulation. But based as it is mainly upon the speeding-up and expansion of armament expenditure, it raises both moral and material problems of increasing magnitude.

In the first place armaments are at the best, one of the most wasteful form of public works. They are not only unproductive but involve in their existing mechanised form enormous initial capital expenditure as well as very heavy upkeep and replacement costs. The prospect of maintaining mechanised forces upon their present scale for many years must carry with it the corollary of a very heavy tax burden and a consequent lowering of the standard of life throughout the world. If the existing international tension should break in the war which we are all seeking to avoid, the economic results are likely to be chaotic. But even if this dreaded consummation be avoided and the nations can agree to meet round a conference table, before and not after a war, there are still problems of a most complicated nature to be solved.

The changeover from a war economy to a peace economy will involve a large-scale shift of capital and labour from armament industries to peace-time industries. This cannot be achieved without considerable social friction and must also involve at any rate a partial abandonment of nationalistic self-sufficiency if it is to be effective.

From the point of view of the abolition of unemployment it must be admitted that armaments and conscription have proved more effective forms of public works than any others so far undertaken. In Germany there is an acute shortage of labour, and Britain has reduced its unemployed by nearly 550,000 this year. In the United States, on the other hand, unemployed are still estimated to total over ten millions despite President Roosevelt's continued lavish expenditure upon public works. The failure of Government expenditure in America to set the wheels of private enterprise in motion must be mainly attributed to the persistent opposition of business men to New Deal conceptions and of their consequent lack of co-operation.

In Russia the Government undertakes sole responsibility for capital enterprise; in Germany it takes half of private incomes in taxation, and in Britain one-fifth. The tendency in all countries seems to be to increase the Government's share in capital developments, a tendency which it will be difficult to reverse even if more peaceful times should come. Government interference in one direc-

tion almost inevitably leads to intervention in another.

The impact of this process upon the individual is a narrowing of his freedom of choice in the articles available for his consumption. In Germany we know that guns have a preference over butter, and that synthetic products are compulsorily mixed with natural products. The German coffee ration has recently been reduced to a mere pittance while in Italy coffee is now almost unobtainable. The Japanese are similarly being obliged to restrict imports and make use of substitutes obtainable from domestic materials in order to support the strain of two years of war in China. The failure of the Japanese to impose their financial and economic régime upon those parts of China which they have conquered is no doubt the underlying motive in trying to abolish the foreign concessions which they are attempting in Tientsin. This threat to British interests in China is one which neither Britain, nor other Great Powers with important trading relations with China, can possibly allow to be made effective.

Up to the present the British people as a whole have felt no inconveniences from their rearmament programme in the way in which Germans and Italians are suffering. But when we reach what economists euphemistically term "full employment," which in this country means reducing the unemployed to about 1,000,000, and if at that stage there is still an unsatisfied demand for labour, we may begin to face a period of rising wages and rising prices which is likely to cause social unrest. Under a comparatively free economy such as still obtains in Britain, it is not possible to control strictly either wages, the distribution of the labour force, or prices, as is effected by the totalitarian régimes. But this disability of the democracies is obviously the price that must be paid for freedom.

Britain has, too, a big problem to face in financing its colossal armaments programme. In the current financial year we shall have to raise about £400 million by borrowing in addition to existing taxation. This is approximately equivalent to our total annual savings and will need the co-operation not only of the public but of all financial institutions to accomplish it successfully. At the request of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, British investors have ceased to buy foreign securities, which in effect means dollar securities, in order to leave the capital market free to absorb British Government loans. But in addition to its own armament financing, Britain has to assist that of the British Dominions and of some of its potential European allies such as Turkey, Rumania, Greece and Poland. This is being done mainly by extending to them export credit guarantees whose proceeds are for the most part spent in buying arms from British manufacturers. This at the same time assists British exports and provides our allies

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with free foreign exchange, a valuable commodity in these days of blocked currencies may yet prove that Britain's financial sinews are tougher than totalitarian fibres whether *Ersatz* or otherwise.

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS: MAY 17—JUNE 16

U.S.A.

Though the visit of the King and Queen to Washington (June 8th) was without political intent, the open-hearted welcome accorded to them in the United States justified Mr. Kennedy in describing it as "the most important handclasp of modern times."

After long discussions in Congress the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives reported (June 13th) in favour of Mr. Hull's suggestions for a Neutrality Bill which would, broadly speaking, prohibit American ships and citizens from voyaging in war zones, continue the prohibition of loans to belligerents, and regulate the collection of funds for them, limit sales of goods to cash purchases and maintain the Munitions Control Board's supervision of export licences for arms.

THE FAR EAST

Alleging the murder of a pro-Japanese official, the Japanese authorities landed marines on Kulangsu island, the International Settlement off Amoy, and made demands—which were rejected—for a predominant position in the Settlement Council. The British, French and American governments sent warships, which landed detachments (May 17th) equal in force to the Japanese landing party (now reduced to 42). The naval commanders proposed, unsuccessfully, that the men of all four Powers should be withdrawn simultaneously. The Japanese authorities at first minimised the affair, but subsequently (May 24th) renewed their demands, failing acceptance of which their intervention would be indefinitely maintained. Meanwhile their warships prevented traffic between the island and the mainland.

The British and American governments having rejected (May 18th) Japan's claim to effect changes in the Shanghai Settlement without their consent, the Japanese consul-general stated (on May 22nd and again on June 10th), that the claims for "reforms" would be pressed and could not safely be ignored. The British council at Tientsin having refused to hand over certain suspects owing to insufficient evidence, the Japanese prepared (June 10th) to blockade the British and French concessions. Japan's legal position, as stated by her Foreign Office spokesman (May 21st), was that, China's sovereignty over the foreign Settlements having passed to her, she was entitled to eradicate anti-Japanese elements, even by force. On June 14th a grave situation arose when the Japanese, ignoring the offer of a mixed British-American-Japanese enquiry concerning the suspects, blockaded the British and French concessions, interfering with shipping and searching British subjects at the barriers. Their spokesmen declared that the issue was now that of securing British co-operation in North China. The British ambassador protested at Tokio, pointing out the serious implications of such statements and the danger of provocative incidents.

The British military attaché, returning from the Chinese war zones, was detained at Kalgan by the Japanese gendarmerie on the charge—according to the Tokio Press—of entering an occu-

pied district without authorisation. As if to test the firmness of the western Power a British, a French and even a German liner were stopped on the High Seas (May 24th, 25th), and it was announced (May 25th) that foreign ships would be liable to search at 200 miles from the Chinese coast. This attempted *de facto* blockade led the British Government to state (May 26th) that it was considering means for protecting its shipping.

TRIPLE PACT NEGOTIATIONS

In the British Parliament (May 19th) Mr. Chamberlain denied having sought to impose unequal conditions on Russia and regretted that there seemed to be a "wall" between the two governments. Discussions between Lord Halifax, M. Bonnet and M. Maisky at Geneva (May 22nd) so far allayed Russian mistrust that joint Anglo-French proposals, which were expected to produce early agreement, could be submitted to Moscow (May 27th). This scheme, which claimed affinity to Article 16 of the Covenant, provided for full support to Russia in case of aggression—a term not limited to her actual territory—for assistance by Russia to the five states already guaranteed by France and Great Britain, and for consultation between the signatories in case of a threat to the Baltic states (i.e. Latvia, Estonia and Finland). M. Molotoff, in a speech (May 31st) and a note of which the substance appeared in *Pravda* (June 7th), described the project as "a step forward," but weakened by reservations—an allusion to Article 16 which, it was feared might be used for delay—and not fully reciprocal, since it did not provide for Anglo-French aid to the Baltic states, whose position made them not less important for Russia's security than Poland or Rumania. The need of guaranteeing Russia against indirect aggression was recognised in London, but it seemed difficult to "thrust assurances," as Lord Halifax said (June 8th), on those who did not want them, or who feared they might compromise their neutrality. This view was shared by the states themselves: an inspired article in the Estonian Press (June 2nd) and declarations in the Diet by the Finnish Foreign Minister and President (June 6th, 7th) showed that they regarded their non-aggression pacts as a sufficient safeguard and would treat any uninvited aid as aggression.

Great Britain, convinced that a formula could be found for guaranteeing Russia against indirect aggression while respecting the rights of interests of other states, decided, after conferring with France, to send a Foreign Office official (Mr. Strang), who reached Moscow on June 14th, to assist in the negotiations.

Discussions were pursued with the Polish Ambassador in London for consolidating the Anglo-Polish arrangement of April 6th, and for financial co-operation with a Polish mission which arrived on June 14th. With Turkey, discussions based on the agreement of May 12th proceeded after the arrival of General Orbay's military mission in England (June 3rd). Franco-Polish staff talks in Paris (May 17th) and the visit of the newly appointed French commander-in-chief, General Gamelin, to London (June 7th) enabled the measures implementing the Anglo-French pledges to different states to be co-ordinated. In Poland, as in Rumania, the form of the British proposals to Russia had largely allayed misgivings as to the acceptance of Soviet aid.

In Germany the Anglo-French efforts to form a "peace front," pictured by the Nazi propaganda as projected encirclement by a hostile group, aroused general anger, thus providing occasion for sharper attacks on the democracies. In a speech at Kassel (June 4th), and when reviewing the Kondor legion (June 6th), Herr Hitler bitterly denounced the "encirclers." The same theme was voiced by General Franco in a speech on June 6th. M. Daladier, addressing the Radical Socialists (June 4th), repudiated these charges as "vain pretexts" and, while saying "No" to aggression and violence, stressed France's will to collaboration. Mr. Chamberlain (May 19th), after showing that Great Britain's recent agreements with Eastern European

states had no element of aggression, expressed willingness to discuss reasonable aspirations and adjustments, if confidence were restored. Lord Halifax also (June 8th) said that Great Britain was ready to discuss Germany's claims round a table if there was a genuine prospect of a settlement. The German Press gave a negative response to these statements, which were regarded as tactical moves.

The German-Italian alliance, signed at Berlin on May 22nd, was designed, as Herr von Ribbentrop said, to put on paper what had long been a reality. Its chief new features were the obligations assumed by the parties to consult on events endangering their interests, to support one another should either be engaged in war—no matter, apparently, on what ground—to conclude no separate peace, and to increase their collaboration in war organisation and economy. The latter provision was at once implemented by the visit of a German air mission to Rome and exchanges of personnel designed to interlock the producing departments in both countries. The treaty was said by Dr. Gayda to contain secret clauses. Italy, he wrote, (*Giornale d'Italia,* May 22nd), would maintain 63 effective divisions, besides large reserves, and in case of war the two armies would fight as a unified force.

NORTHERN AND BALTIC STATES

Replying to Germany's invitation of May 2nd to conclude non-aggression pacts, Sweden and Norway declared (May 17th) that they did not feel threatened and, in view of their neutrality policy, wished to conclude no such pacts with anyone. Finland replied in the same sense, justifying her pact with Russia by the fact of a common frontier. Denmark, as a border state of the Reich, thought it wise to accede, and signed a pact in Berlin (May 31st) which binds the parties to refrain mutually from aggression or from giving support—a phrase which does not prohibit trading—to a third state at war with one of them. In Denmark the pact was regarded as an implied recognition by Herr Hitler of the Slesvig frontier of 1919.

At the League Council session (May 22nd-27th) M. Maisky moved the adjournment of the Finnish-Swedish plan for the fortification of the Aaland Islands. The Soviet Government, as a coastal State, directly interested in the régime of the islands, was incensed at Finland's preference for co-operating with Sweden rather than with Russia in defence matters, and at her refusal, on grounds of secrecy, to inform it as to the nature of the proposed forts, or the safeguards against their seizure by an aggressive Power, which might thus, as *Pravda* (May 25th) observed, bar the exits from the Gulfs of Finland and Bothnia. No compromise being found possible, the Council merely took note of this fact. Finland and Sweden held that they were nevertheless entitled to proceed with the plan, which none of the signatories of the 1921 Convention had opposed. The Finnish Diet (June 2nd) accepted its government's proposals for executing the works, but the Swedish Government, still hopeful of Russia's assent, withdrew (June 3rd) its bill for participation in the plan; the Finnish defence Minister indicating (June 6th) that there was no obstacle to further negotiations with Russia.

Latvia and Estonia, who already had pacts with Russia, also signed non-aggression pacts in Berlin with Germany (June 7th) of the same type as the Danish-German treaty (see above), and with the same exemption regarding trade with a third state.

GERMANY, POLAND AND DANZIG

Dangerous tension arose in Danzig after a number of incidents culminating in an attack on the Polish Customs post at Kalthof when a Danziger was killed (May 21st). Invited by the Polish Commissioner to guarantee security the Senate disputed the facts and demanded (June 7th) a reduction of the customs officials. The Commissioner refused, invoking the Danzig-Polish agreement of 1934; the Nazi leaders showed no wish to push matters to a rupture.

Herr Lütze arrived in Danzig about June 10th, ostensibly for a sports festival. In the British Parliament (June 12th) Lord Halifax repeated Mr. Chamberlain's warning of May 11th that an attempted forcible solution in Danzig would "start a conflagration."

Indignation was expressed in the Polish Seym (May 23rd) at the assimilation, by arbitrary census methods, of some 1,400,000 out of 1,500,000 of the Polish Minority in the Reich.

On the other hand Germany complained of the hospitality shown in Poland to the Czech General Prchla, who wished to organise a legion of Czech refugees from Bohemia. Popular unrest in that Protectorate was growing under an oppressive régime. Herr Frank, the Sudeten Secretary of State, had indeed warned the Czechs that the autonomy promised to them in March was "naturally" only possible so far as it accorded with German interests.

THE BALKAN STATES

At the banquet in honour of Prince Paul in Berlin (June 1st) Herr Hitler declared the German-Jugoslav frontier to be "for ever fixed." The Regent, for his part, promised peaceful collaboration with the Reich. In Germany it was held (cf. *Dipl. Korrespondenz,* May 31st) that Jugoslavia should leave the Balkan Entente, the neutral basis of which was destroyed when Turkey entered the British guarantee system without consulting the other members. In opposition to this view President Inonu, speaking at Ankara (May 29th), and M. Gafencu addressing the Rumanian Chamber (June 9th), attributed increased importance to the Entente as a safeguard for the independence of the Balkans; during M. Gafencu's visit to Ankara (June 13th) both he and the Turkish foreign minister spoke confidently of the loyalty of all its members. Turkish efforts for a Rumanian-Bulgarian *rapprochement* were again foiled by Rumania's refusal —reaffirmed in M. Gafencu's speech on June 9th—to make any territorial concession. The German minister in Budapest stated (May 18th) that the Reich had Bulgaria's revisionist aims constantly in mind. On June 14th it was announced that the Franco-Turkish negotiations for the transfer of the Sanjak of Alexandretta to Turkey had been successfully concluded.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

After the "Victory Parade" at Madrid (May 19th) the German "Kondor" Legion (6,000) embarked at Vigo. Some 15,000 men who had served in Spain were reviewed (June 6th) by Herr Hitler, who described Germany's "active part" —hitherto denied—in the war since its outbreak. Admiral Raeder had spoken of the Navy's share, and the "difficult task" accomplished by two submarines. The Italians (23,000) embarked at Cadiz (May 31st) accompanied by M. Suñer, Spanish Minister of the Interior, and four Spanish battalions; they were reviewed by M. Mussolini (June 7th), who had hailed their triumph over the democracies and now, like Herr Hitler, avowed having intervened "from the first days." The fact that much of the Italian war material, including aeroplanes, was left in Spain for transfer to the Spanish Government was not treated by Great Britain as a breach of Annex XI of the Anglo-Italian Agreement.

General Franco declared his resolve (May 20th) to make Spain a strong world Power; later (May 31st) he stated that this strength would not be used for "mad adventures." In a speech on June 6th he sharply attacked Great Britain and France. The latter, compelled to maintain 350,000 refugees whose admission to Spain was not yet authorised, was still reluctant fully to execute the Bérard-Jordana agreement.

In the national Assembly at Lisbon (May 22nd) Dr. Salazar, Prime Minister of Portugal, assured Great Britain of his complete fidelity to the Anglo-Portuguese alliance which, he said, had stood the "hard test" of war. This pledge was definitely reciprocated by Mr. Chamberlain in a personal message, and by a ministerial statement in Parliament.

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